

TOP STORY: THE BEST BOOKS OF 1993

December 27, 1993 - January 9, 1994

# In THESE TIMES

the alternative newsmagazine

## VIOLENT CRIME

REAL CAUSES, REAL SOLUTIONS

\$2.50 / CANADA \$3.00





# EDITORIAL

## DRUG WAR TARGETS THE WRONG ENEMY

**D**rugs don't kill people, drug dealers do. We all know that cigarettes and alcohol kill hundreds of thousands more people each year than the substances we call drugs. And we also know that the war on drugs, just like Prohibition in the '20s, creates many more violent criminals and causes many more murders than does the use of currently illegal substances.

*In These Times* has pointed these things out many times, but politicians of both parties and on all levels of government have contributed to an anti-drug hysteria that has made rational discussion of the problem taboo. As each new escalation of the anti-drug crusade has failed—and they have all failed miserably—more money has been allocated, more arrests have been made and longer jail sentences have been imposed. Since 1981, the number of people arrested for drug-related crimes has doubled each year. Last year, one of every three people sent to prison was a drug offender. Yet despite all this, drug production and use has hardly changed at all. If anything, the heavier drugs—cocaine and especially heroin—are more widely used than before the war began.

In the current federal budget, \$13 billion is earmarked for the anti-drug effort, and President Clinton's new "drug czar" Lee Brown has been elevated to cabinet rank. But the Clinton administration has also begun a cautious alteration of some Bush policies. The president has talked about putting more emphasis on education and rehabilitation. Attorney General Janet Reno has ordered a review of Bush's tough mandatory sentencing guidelines for minor offenders. And early this month, Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders suggested that it would be a good idea to study the effect of drug legalization in other countries. (See articles on pages 23 and 26.)

*In These Times* believes that drugs, especially the less addictive drugs such as marijuana and cocaine, should be legalized and treated in a manner similar to cigarettes and liquor. Sales to minors should be restricted. Government

should monitor quality. And commerce in the substances should be taxed to provide money for educational efforts and treatment for those desiring it.

Removal of the enormous profits now made through the sale of drugs would eliminate the illegal drug trade and with it the major source of violent crime in our inner cities and suburbs—and it would reduce the corruption of governments from Latin America to city police departments. Drug legalization would, of course, not eliminate crime, especially in areas of high unemployment and poverty wages. But it would free up the \$13 billion that the federal government now spends on feckless enforcement.

And it would allow a redirection of our social priorities. Instead of spending "drug war" money on military aid to Latin American armies—most of which has been used to fight popular rebels rather

than drug cartels—we could spend it on our urban infrastructure. Instead of building endless numbers of new prisons and providing police and the DEA with ever more lethal weapons, we could use the money to rebuild inner-city schools, and to provide extracurricular cultural and sports activities to keep teenagers off the street. And instead of having to spend billions for emergency-room treatment of drug-crime-related wounds, as well as illness caused by adulterated drugs, we could spend it on community-based preventive health care clinics.

All of these alternative activities are labor-intensive. They could provide jobs at above-poverty-level wages—

which would further reduce the driving force behind urban crime. And these activities could help to rebuild healthy inner-city communities.

As with the money squandered on the military, money spent on drug interdiction reflects the anti-democratic priorities of our society. Instead of using our resources to help make possible rewarding, productive lives, we spend increasingly large amounts of money in an attempt to suppress the impulses and desires

***Despite continuing hysteria, the increasingly obvious failure of the drug war is forcing even government officials to open their minds.***

stimulated by our democratic rhetoric and consumer-oriented economy. The demand for drugs flows from social marginality and the lack of prospects for meaningful lives. These are problems that no amount of police action can solve. ◀

## IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

**Editor:** James Weinstein  
**Managing Editor:** Miles Harvey  
**Senior Editors:** Patricia Aufderheide,  
 David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil  
**Asst. Managing Editor/Books Editor:**  
 David Futrelle  
**In Person Editor:** Joel Bleifuss  
**European Editor:** Diana Johnstone  
**New York Editor:** Daniel Lazare  
**Education Editor:** Alex Molnar  
**Contributing Editors:** Peter Karman,  
 Ilan Stavans, Jim McNeill  
**Washington Correspondents:**  
 John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis  
**Eastern Europe Correspondent:**  
 Paul Hockenros  
**For East Correspondent:** Dave Lindorff  
**Main Critics:** Pat Dowell, Patricia Aufderheide  
**Copy Editor:** George Hodak  
**Type:** Jim Rinnert  
**Editorial Interns:** Susan Kimmelman,  
 Sigurd Ueland III, Jake Blankenship

**Art Director:** Peter Hannan  
**Associate Art Director:** Lisa Weinstein  
**Asst. Art Director/Photographer:** David Schulz  
**Cartoonist:** Terry LaBan

**Publisher:** James Weinstein  
**Associate Publisher:** Beth Schulman  
**Business Manager:** Robert Larson  
**Circulation Director:** Etelka Lehoczy  
**Advertising Director:** Bruce Embrey  
**Office Manager:** Theresa Nutall

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 26 times a year by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. Member: Alternative Press Syndicate. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1993 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). For customer service and to place subscription orders, call toll free: (800) 827-0270. Advertising rates sent on request. Available back issues are \$5 each; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 18, No. 3) published December 27, 1993, for newsstand sales December 27 - January 9, 1994.



Volume 18, Number 3

# InTHESE TIMES

## CONTENTS



COVER PHOTO © 1993 DAVID SCHULZ

## Special issue: Violent Crime

Joel Bleifuss on crime and punishment.....	12
Salim Muwakkil on tough talk and easy answers.....	14
Mike Males on how kids have become the new Willie Horton.....	16
Anthony V. Bouza on the real solutions.....	20
David Moberg on the casualties of the drug war.....	23
David U. Andrews on drug legalization.....	26

### FEATURES AND REVIEWS

Choosing sides in the health care fight • John B. Judis.....	28
Film: <i>A Geronimo</i> for palefaces • Pat Dowell.....	30
Books: Our favorite books of 1993 • The Editors.....	32

### DEPARTMENTS

Letters.....	4	Rough Cuts • J.A. Reid.....	9
Sylvia • Nicole Hollander.....	4	In Person • Patrick Z. McGavin.....	10
In Short.....	6	Etc. • Miles Harvey.....	10
Appall-O-Meter • Woody Igou.....	6	Huge Mouth • Peter Hannan.....	13
Media Beat • Pat Aufderheide.....	8	Classifieds.....	37

# LETTERS

## Short step

You didn't get very far in your "attempt to go beyond the polemics" in the date-rape debate (*ITT*, Dec. 13). Leora Tanenbaum's piece in particular was extremely disappointing in that it did not get beyond the many half-truths and distortions thrown about in this debate. For example, to make her point about the dilution of the meaning of the word "rape," Tanenbaum pulls a quote from a Catharine MacKinnon speech out of context ("Politically, I call it rape whenever a woman has sex and feels violated," from "A Rally Against Rape," in *Feminism Unmodified*). MacKinnon clearly meant this as a *political* statement, not a literal (legal) definition, as she makes quite clear in the rest of her speech, but neither Roiphe nor Tanenbaum bothers to tell the reader this. Readers interested in MacKinnon's thoughts on rape in the strict legal sense should

read the chapter entitled "Rape: On Coercion and Consent" in her book *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*.

Mark P. Kurowski  
Arlington, Va.

## Drugs and crime

In your editorial "The president takes a first step on crime," (*ITT*, Nov. 29), you write that a large investment in the inner cities is needed to rebuild education, infrastructure, etc., and then crime will be greatly decreased. I would like to point out that unless there is a change in the drug laws, then it is naive to hope for a reduction in the crime rate, regardless of any investment in inner cities.

The present wave of crime, and the subsequent wave of prison incarceration, is fueled almost entirely by drug

involvement. At the present time in the United States there are approximately 1.4 million people incarcerated in the various prisons and jails. More than half of them are there for drug involvement of some kind.

Would rebuilding the inner cities do away with drug use? I doubt it. Americans just happen to have a tremendous appetite for drugs of all kinds, and this appetite cuts across all social strata. Millions of Americans smoke pot. A good million or two snort, shoot or smoke cocaine. A good million use heroin. There are 600,000 drug addicts in New York City alone. Just to arrest and incarcerate the latter would necessitate six new federal prison systems.

The demand is great and the money is tremendous in all aspects of the "business." We have had the so-called "war on drugs" going hot and heavy for maybe 15 years, and drug usage has not been reduced.

But is drug use really a crime? Take the most sordid picture of an addict filling a syringe with heroin and injecting it into his wasted-away body. The act may be repulsive; it may be self-destructive (and I stress "may," as there are many types of illicit drug use that are not), but is it a crime? I would say it is usually a personal act of intoxication.

The actual substances that intoxicate grow like weeds all over the world and should be priced cheaply on the open market. The situation could be

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





corrected to something analogous to the present situation with alcohol: a person could get high, but he could not drive his car high. Then there would be no illicit business in drugs. After all, how big a problem are moonshiners today?

We could tax the sale of drugs and use the revenue obtained to fund drug-recovery centers. (At the present time, an addict in the inner cities requesting treatment has to wait six to 12 months.) We would be saying, "A significant portion of our citizenry like to use drugs." So be it. Some get themselves addicted and screwed up, so we have recovery centers.

Chris Boys  
Anthony, N.M.



One (albeit only one) of those causes is the drug trade. In is a cancer eating at the heart of many urban neighborhoods like mine. No educational program, job-training program, dogooder program, or even employment itself can compete with the prospect of 13-year-olds making \$100 a day and a whole black market driving a billion-dollar underground economy. To ignore this fact is the ultimate "assault on crime without attention to context." In my opinion, the burning issue of the day is legalization of drugs. Yet it is ignored by most liberal publications and, in particular, *In These Times*. It is ignored by all mainstream media and all politicians. Until it is placed in the center of the table and debated, all other anti-crime programs are but economic evasions.

Lawrence H. McGaughey  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

*Editor's note:* In *These Times* has consistently called for the decriminalization of drugs, especially non-addictive drugs like marijuana.

## Trouble understanding

*In These Times* (Oct. 18) has discovered a new way to lower health care costs: misrepresenting them. You say in your editorial: "...The U.S. Government Accounting Office reported two years ago, a single-payer system could save enough in administrative costs to pay for universal coverage

without any increase in overall cost. In other words, the \$500 billion now paid for insurance premiums would be enough to pay for all of the country's medical needs." As you must know, the "overall cost" of health care in the United States was about \$820 billion in 1992 and will be about \$900 billion this year. By next year the cost will approach \$1 trillion—a far cry from \$500 billion.

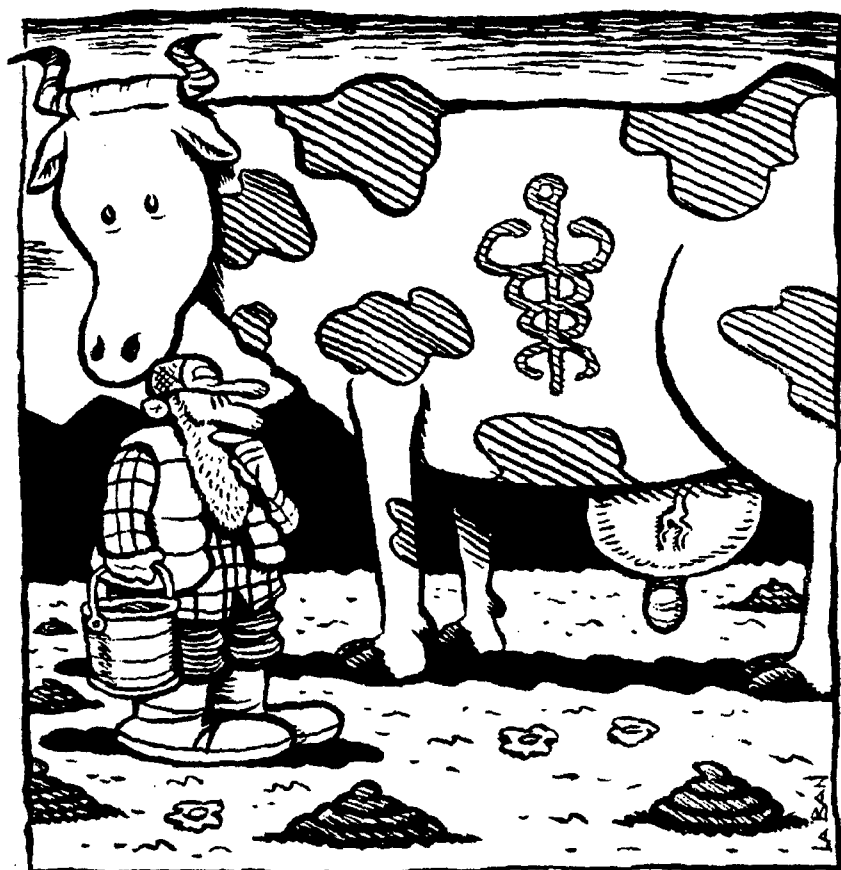
Furthermore, the total paid for in public insurance premiums (in 1991) for Medicare and Medicaid (\$223.3 billion, or 29.7 percent of total national health expenditures) is almost equal to that of private premiums (\$244.4 billion, or 32.5 percent of the total). Most of the remainder was made up of out-of-pocket payments, which accounted for about 19 percent of the total in 1991 (\$144.3 billion) and \$106.6 billion of other public health spending by federal, state and local governments. If we get a Canadian-style single-payer system with virtually all deductibles and co-payments eliminated, one should include all public, private and out-of-pocket spending in the figures, for total public cost.

Furthermore, *In These Times* has trouble understanding the most basic facts of life about the rising costs of "health care." Think of the system as a cancer. If you cut out one part of it—in this case, most of the administrative costs—the cancer gets immediately smaller. But the rising cost of health care is mainly due to an increase in the intensity—per capita—of the use of health care products and services, as well as medical care inflation—the medical greed factor. You may cut a piece of the cancer, but the remainder will keep growing, killing the patient.

Gary Martin Cohen  
Highland Park, N.J.

*Editor's note:* Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you wished to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

# INSHORT



©1993 TERRY LABAN

## GIVE 'EM HEALTH

*The battle for single-payer health care in Vermont*

Vermont could become the testing ground for a Canadian-style health care system in the United States. While a national single-payer proposal faces an uphill battle in Congress, odds are better for passage of a statewide plan in Vermont, which has both a strong tradition of left politics and a vigorous health reform movement.

The single-payer approach, whereby one public entity would virtually replace the plethora of private health insurance companies, is strongly supported by the state's lone U.S. House member, Bernie Sanders. The independent socialist has committed considerable political resources to the Vermont



By Woody Igou

## Arresting image

Reuters reports that Miss Lebanon may be tried in a military court for "collaborating with the enemy" after



Lebanese officials obtained a photograph of her posing with Miss Israel at the Miss World

beauty contest. Miss Lebanon has explained that she didn't know she was standing next to Miss Israel until after the picture was taken.

*Small wonder that their talents in the show were rock throwing and sharp shooting.*

## The enemy within

Embarrassed editors of the *Army Journal Military Review* admitted to the *New York Times* that the author of a published article on portable nuclear weapons was in fact



an institutionalized paranoid schizophrenic. The author, Charles T. Harrison, had been

committed for the last nine years after killing his mother. He is also known to the FBI as a member of a fictional terror group called the "Fourth World," which has claimed responsibility for assassination

riots against the pope and other world leaders.

*At least they caught him before he was offered a job by Sen. Sam Nunn's office.*

### Hope it hurts

Richard Ramirez, famous as the "Night Stalker" mass murderer, set off a metal detector in a San Francisco jail. X-rays



showed the following items in his rectum—a small handcuff key, an empty syringe, the cap

of a pen and a small piece of cellophane on which was printed the phrase "I Like Chocolate."

*Dante would be pleased at the symmetry.*

### Boy toy's boy toy

The *New York Post* salaciously reports that Madonna has a new 15-year-old boyfriend from Brooklyn. The boy is



said to be on the candidate list for Calvin Klein ads. He allegedly spent two days at

Madonna's apartment, after which she took him to buy thousands of dollars worth of presents.

*Suggested reading for pop superstars: Thomas Mann's Death in Venice.*

### APPALL-O-METER SCALE

1. Weightless banality
2. Green Acres stupid
3. Malicious cretinism
4. Howard Sternesque
5. Mary Matalin mean
6. Gangrenous venality
7. A touch of evil
8. A cancer in the Zeitgeist
9. Et tu, Poi Pot?
10. Horseperson of the Apocalypse

lobbying campaign.

A Sanders-assembled group of national experts, including Harvard Medical School professor David Himmelstein, recently unveiled a comprehensive single-payer proposal for Vermont. Reporters at a crowded news conference in Montpelier, the state capital, were presented with piles of data printouts and computer discs containing spreadsheets that illustrate the plan in all its intricacies. Its outlines, though, are quite simple and, Sanders hopes, irresistible.

Under the scheme, to be introduced in the state legislature in January, every Vermonter would be entitled to a full range of health services without having to pay insurance premiums, deductibles or any other fees. Patients could also be treated by the doctor or hospital of their choice. And all this could be achieved, according to Sanders, at an annual savings to the state of \$270 million, which in tiny Vermont is still regarded as a large amount of money.

Financing for the single-payer system would come from a combination of income and payroll taxes, although proponents have yet to indicate by how much those levies would have to be increased.

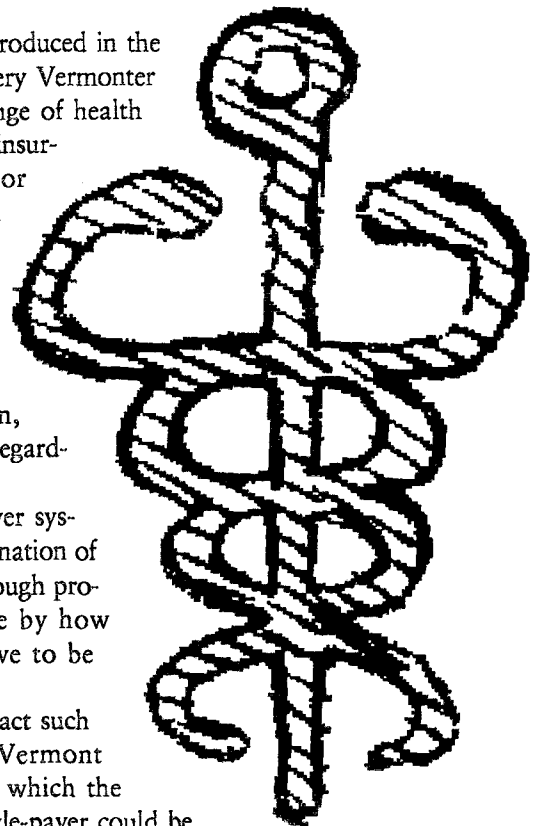
If the legislature were to enact such a plan in the coming year, Vermont would become a test tube in which the mechanisms and effects of single-payer could be closely studied by the rest of the nation. Such state experiments are permitted under the current version of the Clintons' health reform legislation. And Vermont's two influential U.S. senators, Democrat Patrick Leahy and Republican James Jeffords, will try to ensure that the state-autonomy provision is retained as Congress takes up the bill.

A small army of volunteers has meanwhile launched a door-to-door statewide campaign intended to generate political momentum for the plan. With assistance from Sanders' congressional staff, volunteers are distributing 50,000 tabloid-style handouts that favorably compare the single-payer plan to other proposals. The Vermont Consumer Campaign for Health, a citizens' group that has been organizing around the issue since 1989, is also trying to arrange referenda on the single-payer scheme at many of the annual town meetings held throughout the state in early March.

Despite all this activity, however, a victory by single-payer advocates is by no means assured.

Chris Wood, a full-time organizer of the grass-roots drive, concedes that the cause has yet to catch fire in Vermont. He faults the media for not clarifying the complex issue. "Not a whole lot of people understand what's at stake," says Wood.

A petition calling for enactment of a single-payer plan has so far garnered





only 3,000 signatures from the state's 560,000 residents. Vacillating legislators are unlikely to be moved by so small a ripple of opinion.

Backers of the Canadian model have no hope of success unless they manage to win over large numbers of Democrats and at least a few Republicans. Along with the three lawmakers aligned with Sanders' Progressive Coalition, about 50 liberal Democrats in the 180-member legislature have expressed support for the single-payer option.

Gaining more converts will not be easy. Some of the most powerful members of the Democratic-controlled Vermont House are working for passage of a more modest reform package put together by Gov. Howard Dean. His proposal, which is similar to the Clinton's managed-competition formula, would limit, but not eliminate, the role of private insurers while giving the state greater, but not full, control over health care financing.

Critics contend that Dean's measure is needlessly expensive and complicated. It also fails to rectify the major inequities of the current system, according to single-payer partisans.

But, like the Clinton initiative, Dean's plan has been carefully calibrated to alienate as few interest groups as possible. For that reason—and also due to the political popularity of Dean, a practicing physician—the Democratic governor has a good chance of prevailing in the upcoming legislative tussle.

Dean and his allies "obviously have a leg up for their version at this point," concedes Progressive state Rep. Terry Bouricius of Burlington. While the governor's proposal "doesn't really accomplish anything, it gores relatively few oxen, so a majority of Democrats and Republicans might be persuaded to pass it," says Bouricius.

Single-payer proponents are emphasizing their plan's cost-savings features in hope of persuading a few Republicans to endorse it. Without at least some GOP support, the Canadian-style system cannot possibly pass, since Republicans hold a narrow majority in the state Senate. Conservatives flatly reject single-payer as "socialized medicine," but one or two Republican moderates might be receptive to Bouricius' argument that Canada's approach is a "proven winner that will reduce the amount of bureaucracy."

Realistically, strategists for the single-payer campaign hope to be able to fashion a compromise that will include key features of their plan. A few optimists believe that Dean is so determined to achieve some kind of reform that he will be susceptible to pressure from the sizable bloc of liberals and Progressives. But legislative paralysis is possible as well. Competing forces on the left, right and in the middle could well nullify one another, leaving the universally deplored status quo intact for at least another year.

—Kevin J. Kelley

## UNDERMINING LAND MINES

*Congress, United Nations move  
to slow weapons proliferation*

of these people are non-combatants. Despite a 1980 U.N. treaty prohibiting the use of land mines against civilians, civilian injuries and fatalities continue

In the Sept. 6, 1993, *In These Times* cover story, "War Without End," James North reported that up to 200 million anti-personnel land mines are strewn across the globe, killing or wounding an estimated 30,000 people each year. Most

## MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

### Your ad here

When *Demolition Man*, starring Sylvester Stallone and Taco Bell, came out it seemed like the ultimate in product placement. The fast-food restaurant was billed in the movie as the winner of a battle among food chains in the near future. For international distribution, though, Pizza Hut—which has outlets in 24 countries—co-stars with Sly. The change, made possible by new computer technology, allows Warner Bros. to collect product placement checks twice.

### Gothic suds

Coors has paid \$300,000 in book promotion costs to a romance novelist to give a literacy theme to her plot, reports *AdVice*, the newsletter of the Center for the Study of Commercialism (1875 Connecticut Ave. NW, #300, Washington, DC 20009, 202-332-9110).

Coors, which has been promoting literacy, gets to hype itself in ads for the book.

### Keep 'em honest

Ever since Congress reregulated cable TV last year, the cable companies have been scheming ways to turn their bad news into good. An interoffice memo from powerhouse cable company TCI, recently leaked to the *Washington Post*, urged managers to boost prices and chortled, "The best news of all is, we can blame it on regulation and the government now." The new regulations also provide for citizen complaint and municipal control over cable operators—but the process



has been, to put it mildly, hard to understand. Now, the Center for Media Education (CME) has issued "It Pays to Complain," the first effort of its watchdog organization CableWatch. The pamphlet briefs you on the law, tells you how to complain about rates and services, and gives you the form the Federal Communications Commission requires.

CME, the little engine that could of media reform, is also the organization behind citizen enforcement of the Children's Television Act of 1990. And it is pulling together a coalition of non-profit groups around public access to the much-promised information superhighway. (CME is located at 1511 K. St. NW, #518, Washington, DC 20005, 202-628-2620. The pamphlet, "It Pays to Complain," costs \$3; membership in CME is \$25.)

### Hand in glove

If you can't tell the difference between the commercial and the program, maybe you're watching MTV or the Comedy Channel. They have both taken the "making of" form and become flacks for current movies. It's not by accident, reports *Electronic Media*. MTV has taken its basic concept—run the music industry's ads—and extended it to movies. It now works cheerfully with studios to run studio-sponsored specials like the *MTV Wayne's World 2 Special*. The Comedy Channel, co-owned by MTV and HBO, has helped HBO launch *Attack of the 50 Foot Woman* with a day's worth of related programming. As programming ownership consolidates, look for more such examples of "synergy."

© 1993 Pat Aufderheide

and, unless checked by international action, promise to grow far worse.

Since the article appeared, Congress and the United Nations have moved to slow the proliferation of these weapons. In late November, Capitol Hill extended a one-year U.S. moratorium on the exportation of anti-personnel land mines for another three years. The legislation, sponsored by Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Rep. Lane Evans (D-IL), calls for a complete halt on exportation of any classification of anti-personnel mine.

Immediately after the bill's passage, Leahy worked with the U.S. delegation in the United Nations to introduce an international version of the anti-personnel mine moratorium.

As *In These Times* went to press, the legislation was due for a vote in the General Assembly. Supporters expected passage.

But the U.N. action, however noble, is largely symbolic. It merely requests that each country not export the mines. For the U.N. legislation to have teeth, each country must ratify similar legislation of its own.

Now Leahy and fellow land-mine opponents are preparing for a 1995 U.N. conference, in which they hope to strengthen the terms of the 1980 U.N. ban on the use of land mines against civilians.

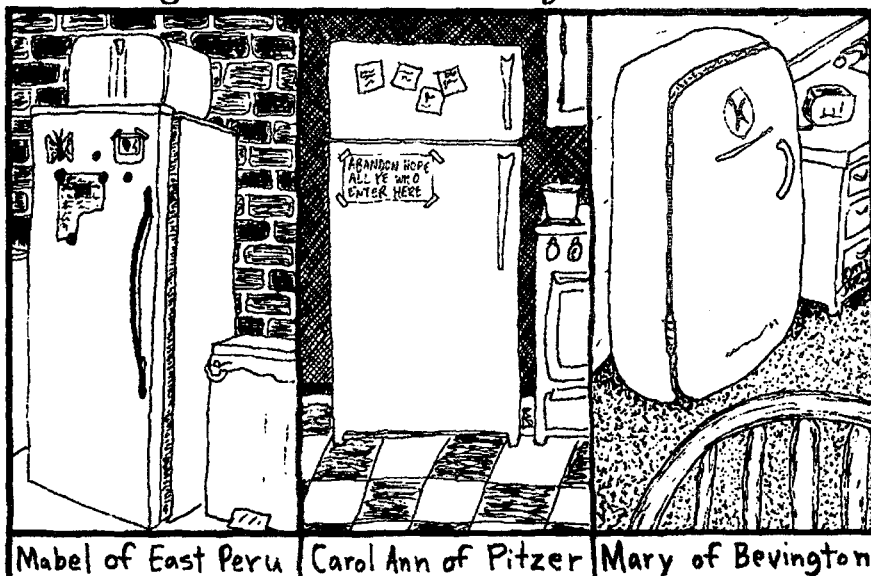
Some of the necessary money needed to clean up land mine areas is slowly being appropriated. Congress has agreed to a \$10 million package to advise and assist other nations in minefield cleanup attempts. And a European Community initiative, which was recently endorsed in a General Assembly resolution, calls for a report on the feasibility of creating a trust fund for demining. However, since the United Nations estimates that in Cambodia the cost of removing one single \$3 land mine runs about \$1,000, making the total cost for the removal of Cambodia's land mines somewhere in the billions of dollars, a total cleanup is a long way off.

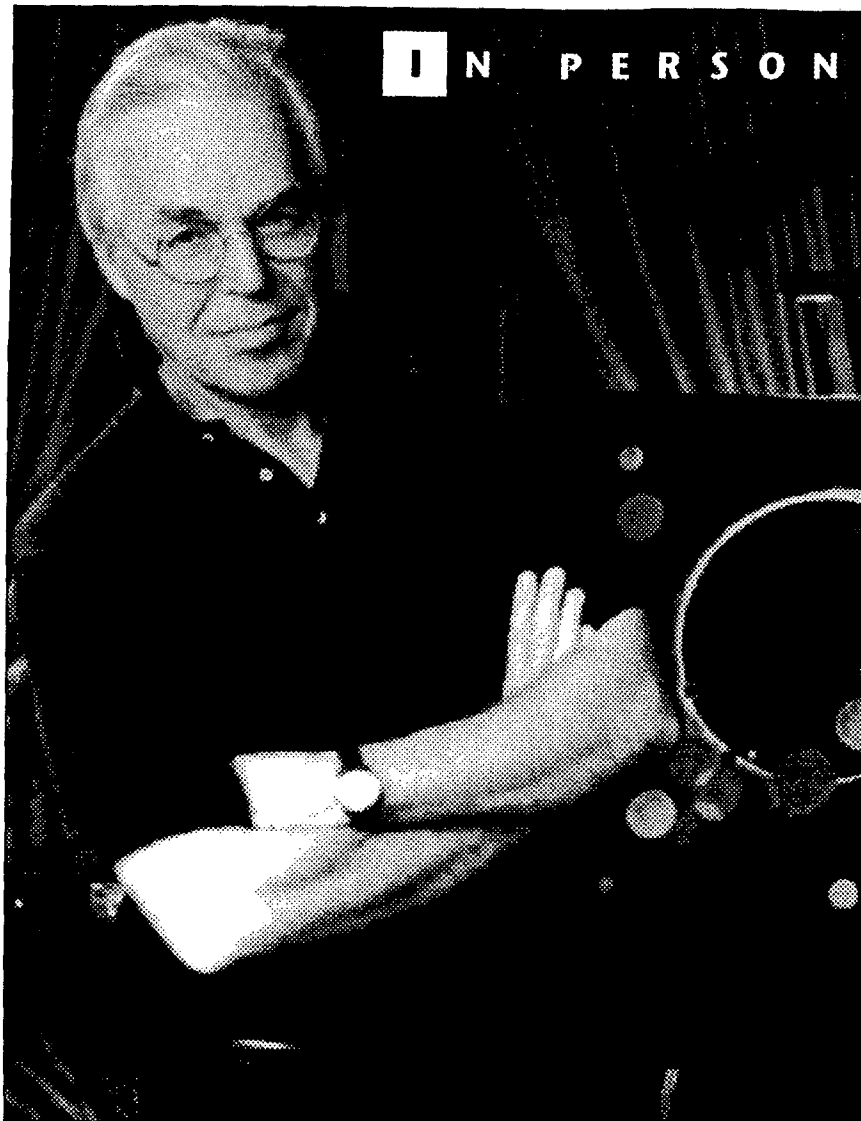
—Sigurd Ueland III

### ROUGH CUTS

By JA Reid

### The Fridges of Madison County





Myles Aronowitz

## IN PERSON

### MORALITY TALES

*John Guare lights up the screen*

John Guare is the creator of a "live sex act" that nearly got shut down in Dallas. You may also know him as the writer of *Six Degrees of Separation*, the prize-winning 1990 play that Australian director Fred Schepisi has adapted into a film now playing in theaters.

Dallas police recently were summoned to break up a "live sex act," which turned out to be a national touring production of *Six Degrees of Separation*. Some theatergoers were offended by a critical sequence in the play that included full frontal male nudity.

"Some audience members called up the police and said the theater was running an illegal sex club," says Guare. "There's a law in Dallas that says you can't have sexual activity within 1,000 feet of a private residence. They tried to arrest the theater, the staff and the actors. The cops came to the performance, but they sort of liked the play and didn't know what to arrest."

But that wasn't Guare's only experience with the absurdities of American puritanism. The ratings board of the Motion Picture Association of America, the self-regulating board financed by the major studios to obviate government

## ETC.

By Miles Harvey

### Lock 'em up and throw out the fleas

You can breathe a big sigh of relief. Congress may finally get tough on the issue of "non-mailable injurious animals." Capitol Hill might even establish a strike force to deal with the problem.

The non-mailable injurious animals provision is just one of the many absurd additions Congress is considering for President Clinton's \$22 billion Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act.

What do non-mailable injurious animals have to do with violent crime? Good question. What the heck are non-mailable injurious animals? Better question.

Non-mailable injurious animals are species, such as plant pests, that are prohibited from the mails. And somebody's apparently been posting a lot of them to the Aloha State. Hawaii Sen. Daniel Akaka, a Democrat, wants to set up a non-mailable injurious species strike force.

As Joe Hallinan of the Newhouse News Service reports, "Akaka, in a speech to the Senate floor, acknowledged his amendment has nothing to do with violent crime. But he said it deserved to be included in the violent crime bill because these critters are costing his state 'many millions of dollars.'"

Another proposed change in the violent crime bill would make it a federal crime to buy lottery tickets from states other than your own through companies that trade in lottery tickets. It's not immediately clear how this would keep the streets safe.

The most expensive part of



the crime bill, costing some \$8.9 billion, is a provision to hire 100,000 more police officers nationwide. That's a whole lot of jobs to fill—so what the hell, why not hire some cops from Hong Kong while we're at it? That's apparently the logic of Sen. William V. Roth (R-DE), who thinks the Hong Kong police could help fight Asian gangs in the United States. And anyway, some Hong Kong police officers will be looking for work after the British colony reverts to Chinese authority in 1997.

"The idea faces serious obstacles," writes Hallinan, "not the least of which is citizenship. Federal law enforcement officers must be U.S. citizens, a process that normally takes immigrants at least five years."

### Bellow peril

When *Rising Sun* was released to U.S. theaters this past summer, many viewers noted its Japan-bashing with displeasure. In *These Times'* film critic Pat Dowell, for example, wrote that the picture was "a '90s version of *Fu Manchu*, the original embodiment of the yellow peril." (See *In These Times*, August 23, 1993.)

Now *Rising Sun* is playing in Japan. The reaction? "That's not the roar of anger you're hearing from Japanese audiences. ... It's laughter," writes Teresa Watanabe of the *Los Angeles Times*.

Notes *Japan Times* film critic Mark Thompson: "At the screening that 20th Century had, a lot of critics were laughing at parts that weren't supposed to be funny—whenever Sean Connery spoke Japanese, or the stereotyping of Japanese characters."

censorship, forced the producers to remove from a theatrical preview a sequence showing the recreation of Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel because it offered a brief glimpse of painted male genitalia.

Guare was perplexed by these two episodes. They degrade the seriousness of his art and detract from the more significant social and political ideas that his play and film hinge on.

"Being a writer is a great privilege," he says. "You can write what you want to write. You can follow your interests. You constantly chase after characters to make sense of everything. You write things to let go of them and try to find a purpose for them."

Guare, who grew up in Queens and went to Harvard, joins Sam Shepard, David Mamet, David Rabe and Tony Kushner as among the handful of important dramatists in American theater who have carved out a singular American idiom.

Since the 1971 production of his first significant play, *The House of Blue Leaves*, and his 1971 Broadway musical adaptation of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Guare has produced an eclectic body of work, which includes *Rich and Famous*, *Marco Polo Sings a Solo*, *Landscape of the Body* and *Bosoms and Neglect*. He wrote the original screenplay for French director Louis Malle's elegiacal 1981 film, *Atlantic City*. Guare's most recent play is last year's *Four Baboons Adoring the Sun*.

*Six Degrees*, both the play and film, offers a barbed view of American life, including the messy entanglement of race, class and sex; upper-class hypocrisy; and the continuing repercussions of the Reagan-Bush counterrevolution that in American cities has created a vast disparity between the haves and the have-nots. Guare portrays the dehumanization that happens when people are treated as objects and commodities.

The plot of *Six Degrees of Separation* reads like theater of the absurd. Based on a true story, the narrative deals with the social and personal fallout that occurs when a confidence man—an articulate, attractive black man—insinuates himself into the gilded inner circles of some prominent New York families by claiming to be the son of Sidney Poitier and a friend of their college-age children. Guare, through a stylized use of language, anthropologically dissects manners, customs and behavior. He gets wholly inside the inner lives of his characters, so that everything is open—the rage, the hurt and the dissatisfaction.

"One lesson we learn from Brecht is to show in whatever way we can the economic forces that shape our lives," says Guare. "Brecht said, don't forget how people make their money. We are what we appear to be, the image we choose to convey. I think that's what the action of the story is. Thanks to this imposter coming into these people's lives, they're facing up to their true selves."

Guare's next project is a large-budget period piece about George Gershwin, to be made in collaboration with Martin Scorsese. Success has meant freedom, though more importantly it offers Guare the opportunity to take chances with form and subject, to be able to take time off to write a play staged in a 150-seat Manhattan theater.

"Just because you're writing for a lot of people doesn't make the work more interesting," he says. "All I want to do is just do my work. The main thing is you want to work with interesting people. You want to wake up in the morning and say, I can't wait to get to work."

—Patrick Z. McGavin

# THE FIRST STONE

## TIME TO RE-DEAL

By Joel Bleifuss

**C**riminality is rampant in our communities because the United States has cultivated a fertile breeding ground for lawlessness. About 34 million Americans live below the government poverty line, while just above it millions more of the "working poor" barely eke out a living. There are few signs on the landscape that could lead the poor in America to hope for a change in fortune. Although Democrats control the presidency, the House and the Senate, there are no moves afoot in Washington to significantly alter the status quo. The recent crime bill is a case in point, unaccompanied as it is by any significant interest to pass a jobs bill.

Nearly one year into the Clinton administration, the carrot approach of electoral politics has failed. It is time to try a new schtick. More radical action is needed.

The segment of the American population that commits crimes is disproportionately African-American or Latino. Blacks constitute 46 percent of the state prison population and Hispanics 17 percent. But a closer look at the statistics shows that the real distinguishing factor is not race or ethnicity, but poverty. Poor whites and poor members of minorities commit crimes at roughly the same rate. Those most at risk of becoming criminals are the young, male and, most significantly, poor.

What options are available to these youth? They could better themselves through a rigorous program of study and self-improvement, say conservatives. The dominant society is a big fan of this Horatio Alger scenario, which has two selling points: it absolves the social system from any blame and it costs taxpayers nothing. But up-by-the-bootstraps strategies have one drawback. They don't work. Without educational and vocational support, individual initiative cannot overcome the effects of 18 years of oppression. The few who prove to be an exception to this rule are held up as the embodiment of the American dream.

Europe's social democracies ensure that almost all citizens have a quality education, medical care and housing.

Poverty as we know it in the United States is unheard of.

One indication of a country's overall health is the size of its prison population. Last summer there was a small public outcry in the Netherlands, population 15 million, over the lack of prison space. The entire Dutch penal system holds only 7,800 people. At any given time about 1,850 of the inmates in Dutch prisons are foreigners. Further, each prisoner has the right to be incarcerated in a private cell. A justice department spokesman told me the only double-bunkers are those inmates jailed for failing to pay traffic fines.

But last June, with the prisons full, the courts were forced to set some convicts free before they had served the full terms of their sentences. The Dutch believe they

are in the middle of a crime wave. Between 1991 and 1992, gun-related deaths jumped 41 percent—to a total of 104. To put that in perspective, in 1992, Chicago, with 18 percent of the Netherlands' population, recorded 939 murders.

Of every 10,000 Dutch citizens, only 5.2 people are incarcerated at any given time. The rate is 10 times higher in the United States, where for every 10,000 people there are 52 prisoners. In other words, 1.2 million Americans live behind bars.

But these figures only tell part of the story. Consider the population of African-American males from the age of 18 to 24. About 148,000 young black men are locked up in this country. This translates to 810 jailed youths out of every 10,000. If the 10,108 men between 18 and 24 who attend Harvard and other schools in Cambridge, Mass., were incarcerated at the same rate, 890 of them would be in jail at any one time.

One could argue that for young men who live in a ghetto, a life of crime is not a bad career path. This entrepreneurial vocation provides organizational challenges and satisfaction each time a big deal is closed or job pulled off. Further, criminal enterprise offers the thrill of living life on the edge—annihilation may be just around the corner. Finally, crime pays—especially in comparison with the alternative, low-pay work feeding or cleaning up after other people.

On the downside, being a criminal is not a socially responsible career. But judging from how the broader society treats the ghetto, social responsibility is not a coin of our realm.

I would argue that the economic woes of American inner cities and the resultant drug culture can be blamed on elected officials who, through their actions, foster institutional racism. For example, a former Rhodes scholar and a 47-year-old president who refuses to get behind a national jobs program, who fails to support funding for rebuilding city infrastructure, and who continues to milk the issue of crime for his own political benefit does more harm to an inner-city



community than the most powerful ghetto ganglord.

Further, members of the U.S. Congress who will fund redundant weapons systems but won't put money into city schools, who will pass mandatory sentencing guidelines but won't finance treatment programs, and who will make sweetheart deals with multinational lumber companies to harvest national forests but won't spend money to rehabilitate city parks are doing more harm to America's cities than gang-banging dope dealers.

Obviously, few Americans, particularly the poor, are being well-represented by an elected leadership that continues to bicker over slivers of the legislative pie—pieces too scrumpy to do any good when they do get served. A national jobs program, money to rebuild the cities and investment in social services to poor communities must ultimately come from Washington. Though progressive congressmen don't have enough political power to put on the necessary heat, too often they pretend otherwise. In a culture where image is important, one can understand how members of Congress can confuse the trappings of power with having the power itself. But there is no reason for the rest of us to be party to that delusion. What Democratic Washington needs is fewer insiders and more rebels.

Martin Luther King was not afraid of alienating the dominant power structure. King, of course, was leading a fight for political equality that involved a clear-cut demand to right a rightable wrong. When dealing with issues of economic equality, the demands are not so simple, the solutions not so easy and the opposition much more organized.

The last time the U.S. experienced a broad-based popular movement for economic justice was during the Depression. Perhaps what we need now is a coordinated political movement for a second New Deal, "a re-deal" that includes at its center a national public works program that would involve intensive investment in our nation's cities and a worldwide restoration of the environment.

But while progressive members of Congress have the ideas, they don't have the votes to force such a fundamental transformation. Public-interest groups can issue research reports and policy proposals until their Xerox machines run dry, but to little effect.

A fundamental change of direction will only occur if the politicians who run things and the people who put them in office believe that they personally have something to lose, even something to fear, if the status quo is not altered.

One thing that could put our decaying urban centers on the national agenda is a coordinated, disciplined and non-violent uprising—an *intifada*—that could be targeted at both the city and, with the aid of public transportation, the suburbs.

Delinquents, especially with guns so readily available, do not fit my bill as the ideal rebels. But perhaps that is beginning to change. Last September in Chicago, 6,000 to 10,000 people, mostly young, black and gang-affiliated, rallied in support of public education. Organized by 21st Century VOTE, a grass-roots effort at community empowerment, the demonstration, to everyone's surprise, closed down the Loop. In *These Times*' Salim Muwakkil heralded the protest as "the first tangible sign of a wide-scale rebirth of political activism among African-American youth." (See "In Short," October 18.)

If 21st Century VOTE could take that traffic-stopping show on the road, who knows what would happen. President Clinton might well be moved to action, prodded by people demanding their turn to lead, not to be led.

President Franklin Roosevelt, no less an opportunist than our current president, got caught up in just such a spirit during the 1936 campaign when he argued that the political equality ushered in by the American Revolution had become "meaningless in the face of economic inequality." ◀

## THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH

by Peter Hannan



# VIOLENT CRIME

## Crime Time Live

**D**

espite FBI figures citing a decline in the national crime rate, the public's preoccupation with crime is skyrocketing. More to the point: street crime has become the media's issue of the moment.

*Urban violence gets its 15 minutes of fame.*

Since the headquarters of most media operations are located in the large cities experiencing the greatest crime shocks (New York, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta), their concern is understandable. And, reflecting this media hype, every opinion survey taken within the last two months has found crime concerns at the top of the list. Not surprisingly, the Clinton administration has leaped onto the anti-crime bandwagon.

Violent crime is "tearing the heart out of our country," President Clinton told a group of mayors and police chiefs at a December meeting. Using gruesome

anecdotes to make his point, the president declared that "this nation is really prepared in a way that it has not been before, at least in my experience, to do something about violent crime." And he pushed his anti-crime bill, currently headed for congressional conference.

A few weeks before that Washington meeting, the president addressed a group of black ministers from the Memphis church that hosted Martin Luther King Jr.'s last sermon. There he declared that King had not fought against white-on-black violence only to have "black people ... murder other black people with reckless abandon."

Clinton wasn't saying anything new to the ministers—many of whom have been publicly condemning intraracial violence for decades—but that wasn't the point. Clinton's strategists were looking for a jump in the polls, and telling African-Americans things they allegedly don't want to hear has worked before. The Clinton camp used it successfully during the campaign when the Arkansas governor dissed rap artist Sister Souljah at a Jesse

Jackson event. Although Jackson himself had earlier chided Souljah for her intemperate racial remarks, the Clintonites spun their candidate's attack as a declaration of independence from the irrepressible "country preacher."

It is curious, then, that Clinton is once again following in Jackson's footsteps. For the last two months, in his role of National Rainbow Coalition president, Jackson has been on a cross-country crusade focusing on the violence among high school students and other teens. "No one can save us from us but us," Jackson has been telling his mostly black audiences.

And since African-Americans long have been disproportionate victims of crime, the issue is more than just a passing fancy. Jackson's alliterative bromides resonate deeply in the realities of his audiences. "Black-on-black crime" was identified as the most pressing problem facing African-Americans in a poll published in the September 1993 edition of *Ebony*. But the issue has been ensconced high in the publication's polls for the last decade.

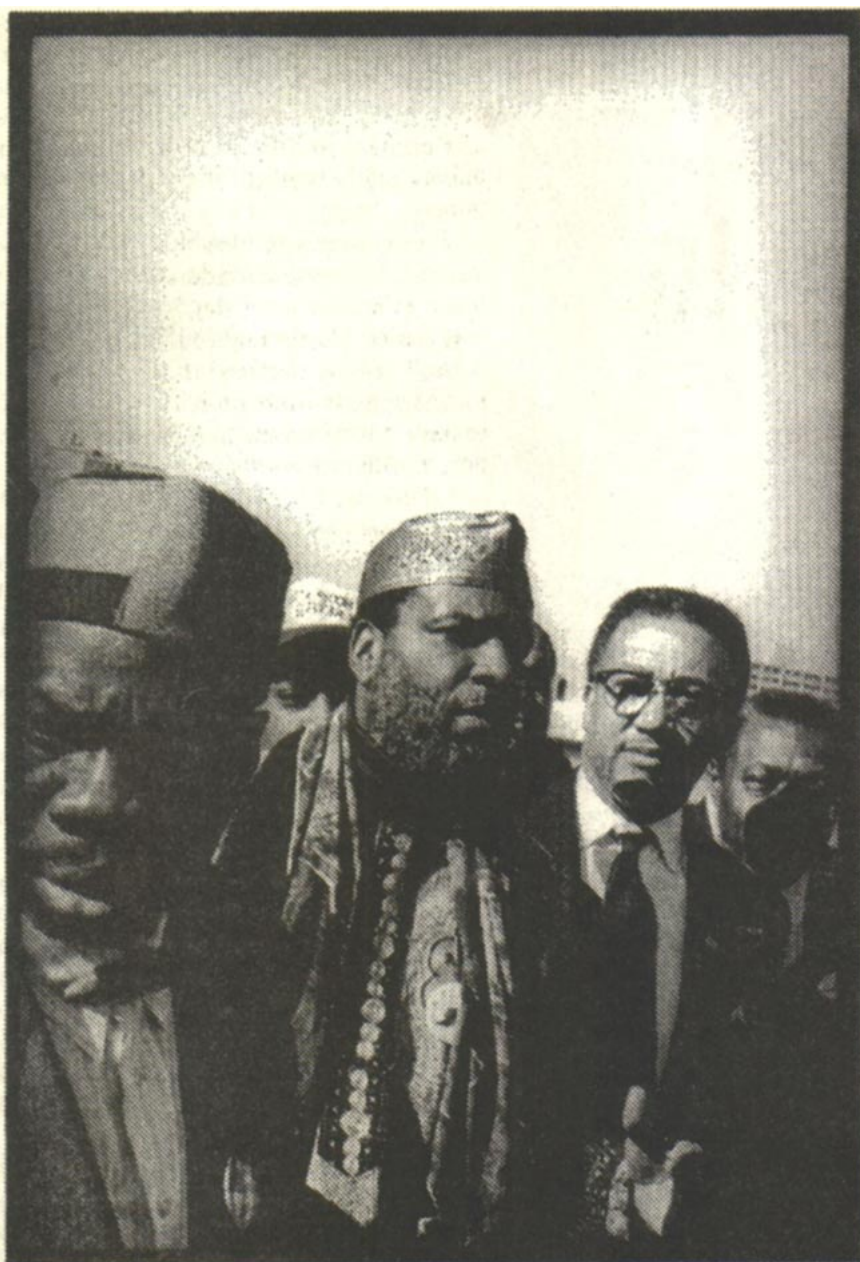
The Nation of Islam's (NOI) Louis Farrakhan has been engaged in a "Stop the Killing" campaign for many years, pushing strict standards of morality to thousands of African-Americans in city venues across the country. In fact, the tentative rapprochement between the NOI and more traditional civil rights groups was instigated by the need for more concerted efforts to end the carnage currently decimating African-American communities.

Since its beginnings, the NOI has focused its attention on the most disenfranchised blacks. Traditional civil rights groups have tended to empathize more with the sentiments of the black middle class, and no longer have much to say to

By Salim Muwakkil



© 1993 DAVID SCHULZ



**Ben Chavis (second from right) at the recent Chicago gang summit.**

access to mainstream success and those mired in the post-industrial wasteland are widening dramatically. A survey of middle-class blacks would likely reveal that their opinions about crime differ little from advocates of the "lock-'em-up-forever" school of criminal justice. But even the most ghetto-phobic middle-classer expresses a grudging respect for the NOI's success in minimizing crime and in successfully reforming criminals.

The Rev. Benjamin Chavis, the new director of the NAACP, is using common concerns about crime as a justification for forming an open alliance with the NOI. By taking

the inner-city poor. The cultural differences between those African-Americans who have gained

incarceration."

And within the story of high incarceration is a sad story of black males, who are going to jail in ever-increasing numbers. Mauer says the toll of Clinton's plan will be thousands of new black inmates. "The greatest increase in prison populations in recent years has been due to the 'war on drugs,' which disproportionately targets inner-city African-Americans and Hispanics," he notes. "By failing to support 'front-end' drug solutions, we will continue to see larger numbers of drug offenders in courts and prisons." (See stories on pages 23 and 26.)

Desperation is the mood of the times. Jackson's and Farrakhan's "Stop the Killing" tours probably do some good. The value of Clinton's warmed-over rehash of the message is less clear, though, aside from the boost it gives his political fortunes. ◀

this action, Chavis is explicitly acknowledging the NOI's growing value to an increasingly crime-ravaged community. Violent death has become such a common expectation for many young black Americans that one of the most popular songs on the black music charts—"Gangsta Lean" by DRS—celebrates a certain burial posture. Chavis also is trying to narrow a class gap that has bedeviled African-Americans since Emancipation and crippled their ongoing struggle for equality.

Jackson, on the other hand, is reluctant to get too close to Farrakhan. Unlike Chavis, who opted for a public reconciliation, Jackson instead is incorporating Farrakhan's message of disciplined self-determination into his NRC playbook.

Meanwhile, Clinton is reaping plaudits from both sides of the racial divide. He seems courageous to many white Americans for making public statements that could be construed as bitter pills for the black community. And, ironically, many African-Americans hear empathy in Clinton's remarks on crime problems. But after all of the bully pulping, Clinton's programmatic response to the issue is a \$22 million crime bill that favors increased incarceration over prevention.

"The bill continues a 20-year trend of increasing incarceration that has little impact on crime," says Marc Mauer, assistant director of the Sentencing Project, a Washington-based group that conducts research and advocacy on criminal justice issues. "Rates of murder, violent crime and drug-related crime persist at record levels despite this country having become the world leader in its rate of

# VIOLENT CRIME

## Willie Horton Jr.

*In California,  
get-tough  
programs to  
fight youth  
crime have  
left youths  
worse off—  
and crime  
rates soaring.*

By Mike Males

**I**t was no small irony: President Clinton invoking the images of Martin Luther King in Memphis and Cesar Chavez in Los Angeles to announce a get-tough anti-crime campaign certain to inflict its worst punishments upon the young and non-white.

In Memphis and L.A. last month, Clinton declared that King didn't die for the freedom of "children to have children" or for "13-year-olds gunning down 9-year-olds with automatic weapons."

These images are familiar: they are the same stereotypes of rampant violence and sexual immorality once openly directed at the very same minority groups whose heroes Clinton invoked. In truth, juvenile boys and girls account for fewer than 1 percent of all births in the United States; 85 percent of all child murder victims are slain by adults, not by children or teenagers.

L.A. served as the perfect symbolic backdrop for Clinton's message.

On any given day, the *Los Angeles Times* is a chronicle of youth gone berserk: drive-by mayhem, pipe stabbings, schoolyard riots, rapist suburban "posses," endless gang warfare. One in seven teenage killers in the United States resides in Los Angeles County, and arrests of teenagers for violent crimes have doubled in the last 10 years. Of course, latter-day L.A. is a violent place in general: the cataclysmic 1992 uprisings added but a 60-corps blip to the 2,600 killings recorded last year.

Recent federal anti-crime proposals include a ban on gun possession by juveniles, the transfer of violent kids from juvenile to adult courts, \$500 million for new juvenile prisons, federal prosecution of a wider variety of youth offenses, expanded school and community "prevention" programs and military-style "boot camps" for young first-time offenders.

These initiatives have won support not just from whites but from many black and other minority adults fed up with gang violence. Yet, in foundation and execution, the crime-prevention and punishment strategies proposed by Clinton are extensions of the same '80s logic that plunged us into the abyss of inner-city youth violence extant today.

Though gang-laden L.A. provides stark photo-ops and audiences eager for get-tough oratory, a careful examination of California's anti-crime programs provides the refutation, not the affirmation, of the punitive measures Clinton officials and Congress aim to train on youth.

Gun laws? California already has some of the nation's stiffest anti-firearm laws: 14,000 youths were arrested in 1992 for carrying guns, one-fourth of all such arrests in the nation. Prisons? California has for 20 years incarcerated a higher percentage of its youths than any other state—450 per 100,000 juveniles, a rate eight times higher than alternative-sentencing states such as Massachusetts. Tougher sentences? California already imprisons youth for longer terms than adults convicted of the same crimes. According to the California Department of Corrections, a youth convicted of murder spends an average of 60 months behind bars—compared to 41 months for adult murderers. The statistics are similar for other violent crimes.

Boot camps? California has pioneered similar alternatives: chiefly, the California Conservation Corps—in which non-dangerous youth convicts labor on outdoor work projects—as well as juvenile diversion and community treatment programs. These have been moderately successful with lesser offenders but are not panaceas for the AK-47-toting gang-bangers Clinton decries.

California's get-tough policy (even with its liberal attachments) has hardly proven a success. Youth homicide arrests rocketed from 350 in 1970 (below the national average) to 1,396 in 1992—a rate now double the national average. In



L.A., a teenager is arrested for murder every 18 hours, a per-capita rate five times that elsewhere.

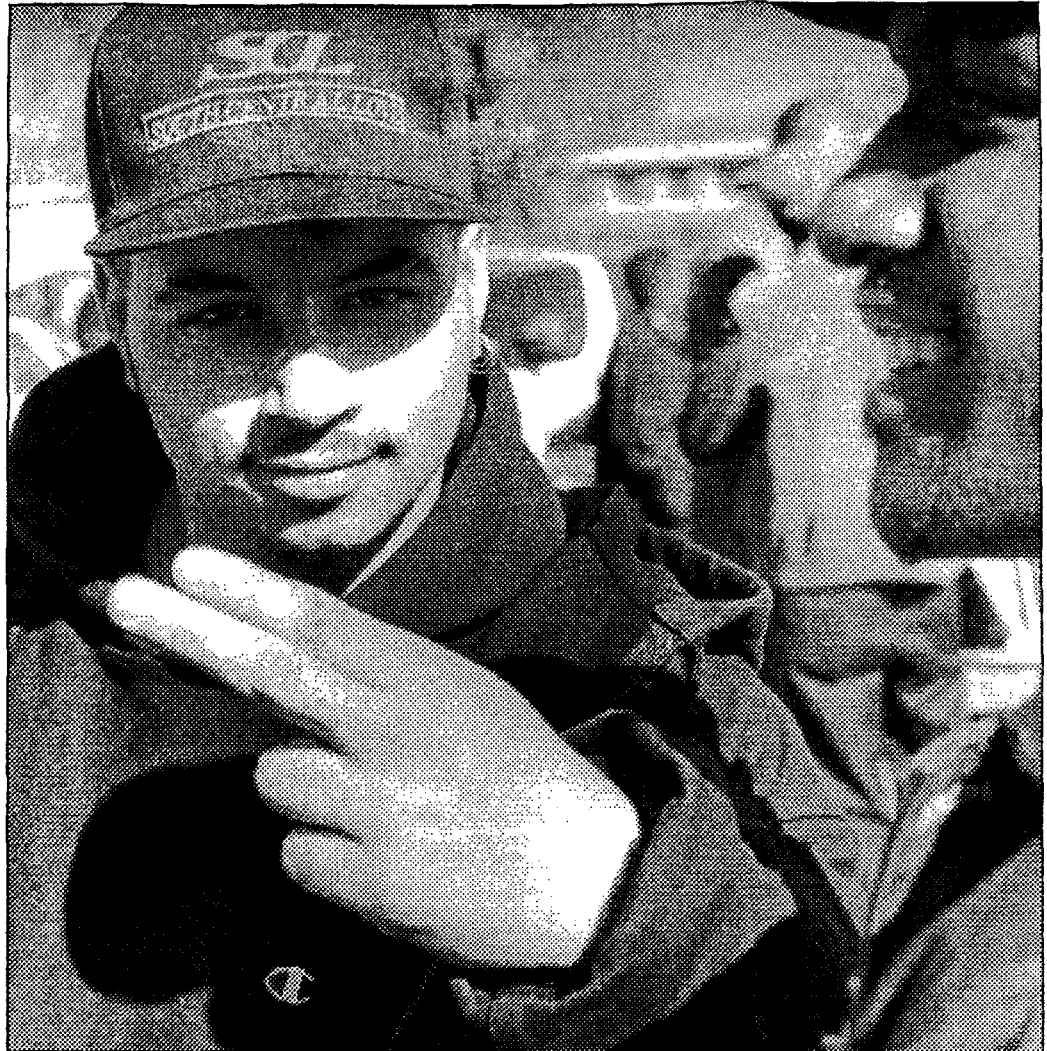
Clinton's invocation of Chavez and King to support his law and order initiatives is bitterly ironic, given the pattern of arrests in California today. The state's 1992 *Crime and Delinquency* report shows that 89 percent of the youths arrested for murder and 80 percent of those arrested for violent crimes are blacks, Latinos or other minorities.

Although white non-Latinos are by far the state's largest racial group, only 82 white California teenagers were arrested for murder in 1992, compared to 665 non-whites. The homicide rate among black youth is 12 times the rate among white youth. And Latinos, 35 percent of California's teenage population, account for 60 percent of its murders.

These rates vary inversely with rates of poverty: 15 percent of California's white youth lived on incomes below federal poverty guidelines in 1991, compared to 45 percent of its Latino youth and 51 percent of its black youth. To toss out emotional anecdotes of "youth violence" without citing the crucial contexts of racism, anti-immigrant bigotry and poverty is to obscure just how devastating these forms of societal violence against black and Latino adolescents remain, and how little progress has been made toward assuring non-white youth equality of opportunity in the 25 years since King was murdered.

A visit to the grounds of the Herman G. Stark Youth Training School, or "Chino" as Californians call it, demonstrates better than any statistics the mass incarceration of minority males. Out of 2,000 young inmates held in this maximum-security prison for offenses ranging from drug sales to first-degree murder, white faces are a rare sight; a typical counseling group consists of eight blacks, three Latinos and an Asian.

Non-white youth imprisonment is accelerating nationwide as well: two-thirds of all juveniles behind bars today are minorities, up from less than half in 1985. Instead of



An L.A. gang member at the Chicago gang summit.

facing and publicizing the implications of this alarming trend, Clinton officials and congressional Democrats have resorted to evoking the inflammatory Willie Hortonism of Reagan-Bush politics: not crude portraits of sinister-looking black murderers but emotion-laden images of Uzi-toting seventh-graders, children having sex with children, killer kids set free by bleeding-heart judges—all symbols of what is politely labeled a "youth problem" to mask its roots in disparities of color and class.

Like the issues of race and class, the issue of gender is a troubling one for politicians bent on exploiting "youth crime." How can the issue be "youth violence" when juvenile girls account for only 2 percent of all violent crime and fewer than 1 percent of all murders? Given that boys and men account for nine out of 10 violent crimes, violence is more honestly framed as a "male issue" rather than as a "youth issue."

Despite the low level of girls' criminality, Clinton officials are considering more punitive measures against female



teenagers as well. Earlier this month, Clinton's welfare reform task force recommended cutting unmarried teenage mothers off welfare unless they live with "a parent or other responsible adult." As in the case of "youth crime," pejorative images ("children having children," chiseling welfare mothers) were brandished by both liberal and conservative advocates of measures to further punish what, in reality, are often abused and impoverished young mothers.

And once again, it is clear who will be punished: California vital statistics reports show that four-fifths of its unwed mothers under age 18 are non-white; most were impregnated by adult men, not by other "children." And studies show that among teenage mothers of all races, two-thirds are victims of sexual and violent childhood abuses; forcing them to remain at home with their abusers will hardly help them become "responsible" parents. "Systematically ignored," notes University of Hawaii sociologist Meda Chesney-Lind, is "girls' victimization and the relationship between that experience and girls' crime."

Instead of vigorously pursuing measures to ensure girls' rights to grow up free of sexual violence, Chesney-Lind argues, the system has concentrated on "criminalizing girls' survival strategies." Her analysis of female delinquency shows that official concern with girls' misconduct overwhelmingly involves "moral crimes," chiefly sex, that are typically ignored when it comes to boys and men. FBI arrest statistics show that far more arrests of girls than of boys involve "status" crimes applied only to youths (drinking, curfew violation, running away from home). When arrested even for minor offenses, girls are far more likely to be confined and subjected to humiliating strip-searches than are boys or adult offenders, Chesney-Lind found—moral violations to punish moral violations.

As in the case of "youth crime," the inflammatory image of "children having children" has become a code phrase for perpetuating traditional racial and gender stereotypes. Just as frank discussion of the extreme racial imbalances found in "youth crime" would entail unsettling admissions of how mass warehousing has substituted for decades of failure to combat the destructive effects of racism on the young, so scrutiny of gender issues threatens to expose both the male role in perpetuating overt violence and the official role in "criminalizing girls' survival" by punishing young females seeking escape from abusive conditions. Modern "youth crime" alarms thus meld traditional anger at "colored" violence and "female" immorality into a politically palatable attack on adolescents, one in which causes and implications remain exempt from discussion.

One major contributing factor to youth violence—the pervasiveness of adult violence against children—has gotten surprisingly little attention from officials and the media. In a city in which 400 youths are reported abused every day, Clinton didn't refer to violence against children by adults, even though his topic was violent crime.

The Los Angeles Council on Child Abuse and Neglect reported 140,000 cases of beating, killing, rape, molestation

and criminal neglect inflicted on children and youths in the county in 1992—a rise of 15 percent over 1991 and a rate well above the national average. "Our children continue to suffer terribly in the hands of adults," L.A. County Sheriff Sherman Block told the *Los Angeles Times*. "They are victimized at a terribly alarming rate."

In a California Department of Justice sample of 1,596 murder cases in 1992 for which the offender's and victim's ages are known, 1,266 involved murderers over age 20. Adults murder 10 times more children under age 15 than are killed by other children, and 2.5 times more than are killed by teenagers.

But prevailing official solutions to youth problems focus not on initiatives to alleviate social conditions, which deteriorated alarmingly in the '80s, but on stepping up '80s-style repressions: more laws, tougher sentences, more censorship, more psychiatric confinement. These kinds of programs Clinton and his advisers term "prevention," an appealing concept that, in practice, has been a windfall for myriad law enforcement, education, consulting and treatment interests—and a disaster for youth and society.

Consider a few major, unpublicized '80s "prevention" failures. Though the multi-billion-dollar "war on drugs" doubled the number of young drug arrestees and drastically expanded school and community efforts against drug use, drug-related death rates among teenagers, which had declined considerably from 1974 to 1984, rose drastically in the latter half of the '80s. Similarly, in the mid- and late '80s, "teen pregnancy" became the focus of toughened laws and stigmatizing publicity. But birthrates among teenage mothers, which had declined by 47 percent from 1957 to 1984, rose 20 percent from 1984 to 1991.

Punitive attempts to prevent teen violence have been similarly unsuccessful. Teenage murder arrests declined by 11 percent from 1974 to 1984. From 1984 to 1992, in the wake of the Reagan-era get-tough approach, teenage murder rates rose by a staggering 95 percent, the fastest, steepest increase ever.

Surely, by now, health and law-enforcement policy-makers must be getting the picture: youth-targeted "prevention," as framed in '80s-'90s context, not only does not work, it represents a policy disaster of major proportions. Nor has it ever worked. As researcher Barry Krisberg has noted, studies of more than 100 prevention programs (from the intensive Cambridge-Somerville and Boston Midcity projects of the '30s and '50s to modern efforts) have shown that "regardless of type ... of program or intervention techniques ... there is little evidence that they are effective in preventing delinquency."

Krisberg's findings have been repeatedly confirmed: there is no magic youth-targeted crime-prevention formula. Because of its failures, "prevention" has become an excuse for punitive policies and popular rhetoric such as have overtaken the U.S. Senate and the Clinton administration today.

Clinton, like Franklin Roosevelt, inherited the devastating aftermath of years of self-indulgent national policy:

poverty-wracked young families and millions of angry, violent, alienated adolescents shoved (literally) to the margins of society. But unlike FDR (who delighted in needling Hoover-era "stuffed shirts" by invoking the wisdom and idealism of youth to clean up the mess of their elders), Clinton has stepped up the same Reagan-era teen-bashing rhetoric and tactics that have dangerously worsened youth conditions.

It is not that Clinton is insincere in his professions of concern for our nation's children or that his agenda contains no positive initiatives. Rather, the question is whether the president has the political courage to demand the tough, unpopular sacrifices from adults that are necessary to ameliorate the causes of youth malaise—or whether he will use his office to whip up even greater antagonisms between young and old. ◀

**Mike Males**, a graduate student in psychology at Occidental College, writes regularly on youth issues for *In These Times*.

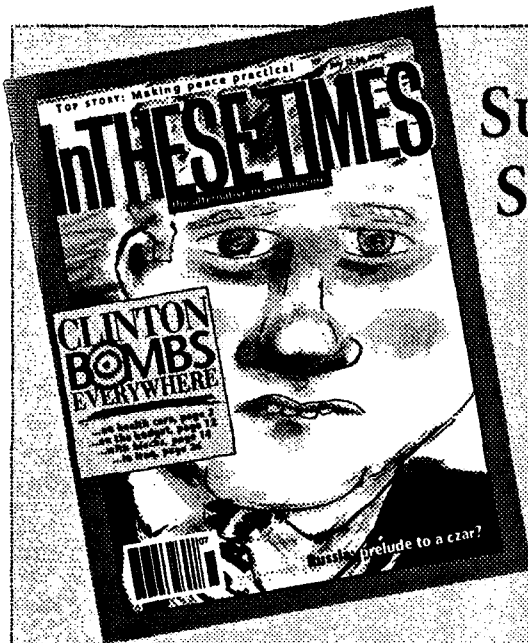
## GRAY PANTHERS *Age and Youth in Action*

**for peace and social justice,  
national health care reform,  
affordable housing,  
the elimination of all forms of discrimination,  
and environmental preservation!**

**We need you...  
to build a strong force for social and economic  
change toward peace and justice in this world.**

**Join us today!**

Join Gray Panthers in our fight for peace and justice by sending in a \$20 annual membership fee which includes 10 publications on Gray Panther issues. Send to: Gray Panthers, Dept. B; 2025 Pennsylvania Ave, NW #821; Washington, DC 20006.



## SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

☐ **NEW SUBSCRIPTION.**  
(You'll receive your first issue in 4-6 weeks. Please check price and terms below.)  
AST1

☐ **RENEW ME NOW.**  
(We'll extend your current subscription for as long as you like. This saves you any worries about expiring and saves us the money in sending renewal notices and bills.)  
ART1

I AM:

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

☐ **MOVING:** (allow 4-6 weeks for change.)

NEW ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

☐ **WHAT A GREAT GIFT IDEA!**

(Just try and find a gift with more thought behind it. Fill out your name above and the lucky person's name here.) XSTH1

NAME OF RECIPIENT

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

### PRICES & TERMS

☐ One year, 26 issues: \$34.95    ☐ Six months, 13 issues: \$18.95    ☐ Institutional, one year: \$59.00

☐ Payment enclosed    ☐ Bill me    ☐ Charge my    ☐ Visa    ☐ MC

ACCOUNT NUMBER / EXPIRATION DATE

For orders to Canada, add: \$27.50 (one year), \$13.50 (six months) for postage. All other foreign orders add: \$41.00 (one year), \$20.50 (six months).  
Mail to: IN THESE TIMES Customer Service, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. 1-800-827-0270.

# **VIOLENT CRIME**

## **We are the enemy**

“O

***A top cop  
argues that to  
win the war on  
crime, white  
America must  
re-examine  
itself.***

**By Anthony V. Bouza**

ur nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.” Thus begins the seminal report of a distinguished group asked to examine the causes and possible cures of urban riots by blacks in America in the mid-’60s. The violence had reached a crescendo in 1967.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders contains many trenchant observations. Two worth special note are that “until the fact of white racism is admitted, it cannot conceivably be expunged,” and that the rioting young blacks “were, and they are, a time bomb ticking in the

heart of the richest nation in the world.”

The report speaks ominously of the future, but its gloom is tinged with the naive optimism that flowed from the authors’ unconscious assumption that President Lyndon B. Johnson’s “War on Poverty” programs would continue. The United States was on the brink of a 180-degree reversal, but the authors didn’t see it.

Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George Bush steadily cut away at programs for the poor. Their approach to urban violence was a lock-’em-up agenda, yet they failed to deliver the promised levels of safety—or anything close to them. As the century grinds to a close, America’s rulers are concentrating on more cops, tougher laws, harsher judges and bigger prisons.

None of it is working.

Thus, finding the answer to how to create a safer America begins with a question. If we are arresting all the street criminals and incarcerating or otherwise controlling them in enormous numbers, where do all the Willie Hortons come from?

Allowing that a much better job could be done, in the short run, to make the system both more effective and more efficient, it’s obvious that our criminal population is growing at a much faster rate than our criminal justice system’s ability to cope with the volume. The recidivists are created by social and economic forces over which the criminal justice system has no control.

It seems indisputable that there is something in our national makeup that is producing criminals at a very rapid, and increasing, rate, and that the kinds of suppression undertaken over the past quarter-century haven’t worked.

•**Imprisonment and crime:** More than tripling the prison population and greatly increasing arrests, jailings, probation and other forms of control—of both young and old defendants—did not prevent 1990 from producing a record number of murders, following highs in the previous four years. The total was exceeded again in 1991. All the arrests, imprisonments and other modes of suppressing crime had failed to stem the flood.

Most experts agree that the availability of guns and the thirst for drugs are powerful factors in our extraordinary levels of crime and violence, but they don’t explain why white middle- and upper-class America doesn’t participate

*Anthony V. Bouza is one of the most innovative voices in criminology. On some issues, the former Minneapolis police chief can sound as tough as Ronald Reagan. He’s pro-capital punishment, for example, and he argues that “the first, and most critical, factor in building a safer society remains ... the family.” But Bouza, who is set to announce his candidacy for governor of Minnesota, dismisses shortsighted “lock-’em-up” strategies, arguing that America must address bigger issues such as racism and poverty. The following essay on long-term solutions to violent crime was adapted with permission from his new book, How to Stop Crime (Plenum).*



in street crime to the degree and extent that black underclass America does. The issues of race and poverty simply aren't addressed, and the reason is that we might be forced to do something about them if we recognized their existence. Despite floods of arrests and imprisonments the street criminals keep coming. If everybody's been arrested, where do the new criminals come from?

Arresting low-level users and dealers—and imprisoning them for long periods—is less effective than targeting importers and wholesalers of narcotics. If our social and economic systems make criminal behavior inevitable, we must look to those conditions, and their correction, as the only viable hope for long-term results.

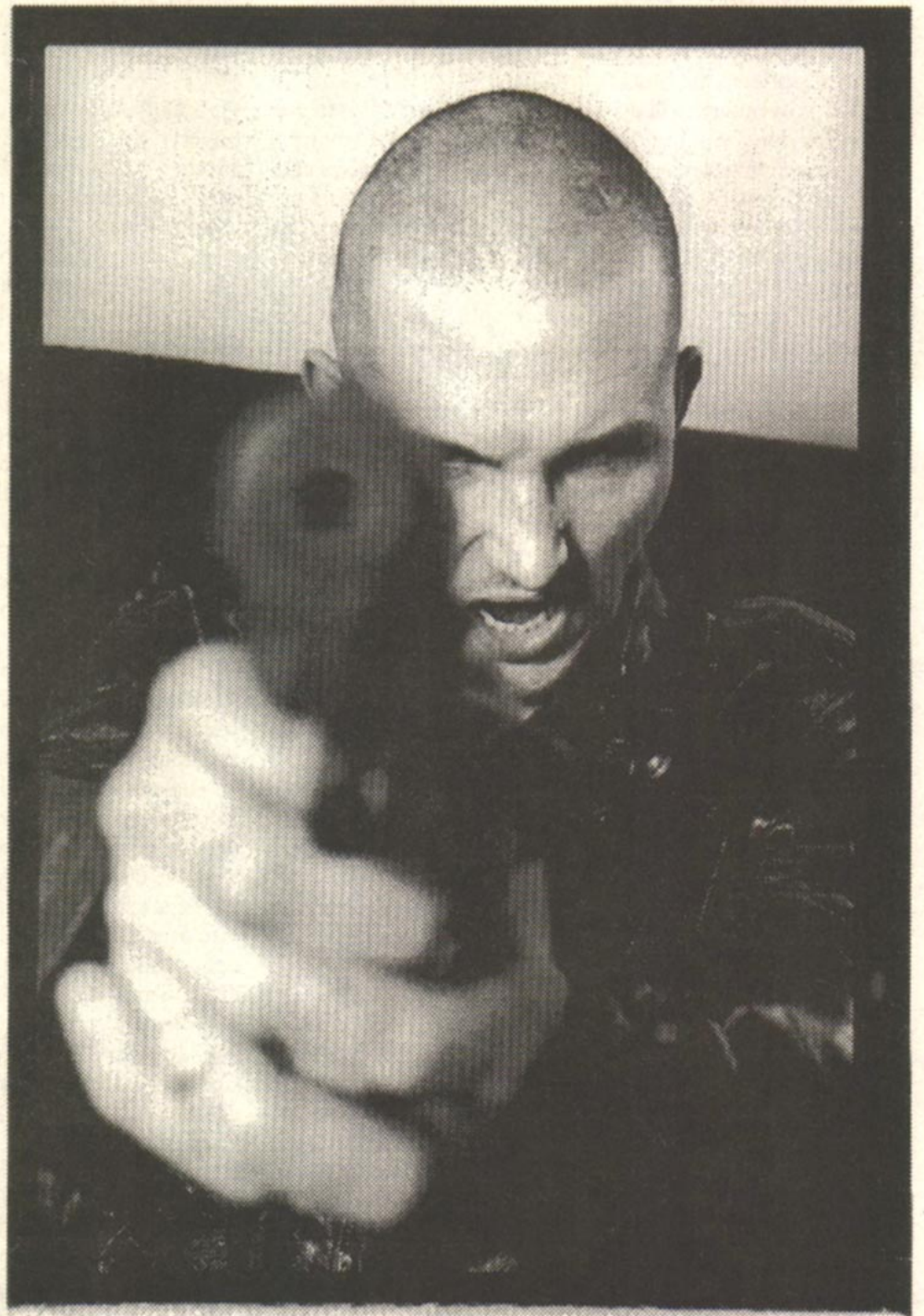
If the street criminal is typically male, black, poor, addicted, uneducated, unemployable, born to a teenage single mother, persistently abused and neglected, and made to feel separate and inferior, then the obvious place for any prevention program to begin to address all these problems is upstream. By the time the criminal justice system gets into the act, the criminal has been formed, and the crimes have been committed.

The social contract has to include the punishments we've been altogether too willing to apply, but it must also include more generous approaches if it is to complete the equation needed for enhanced safety.

•**Economic justice:** One of the critical functions of government—and one that our current rulers have largely abandoned—is to tame and direct capitalism to the service of the nation, rather than only to enhancing the lives of the privileged few.

Only the government can produce the unprofitable housing needed by the large numbers of homeless. And only the government can create a national health system that will provide the needed coverage, in the same way that it has

provided income to the elderly. Only the government can provide an educational plant that serves the poor, a welfare system that attends to the needs of the excluded, and jobs



programs that offer hope to all our citizens, as well as the other programs that ameliorate the harsher aspects of a competitive culture that can exploit and crush its weaker members, even as its energies produce untold wealth.

The government, having offered help and hope, must also offer sanctions and supervision to those who will insist

on going a negative way, and it must do so more efficiently. Nothing much will happen until our politicians develop a managerial perspective.

A society needs to protect itself from the criminals and malefactors in its midst. But a juster society can incarcerate, control and, yes, even execute its members if it has openly offered the means of rescue.

The government will do what we, as citizens, ask it to do, as it has done in settling wars, trying to clean the environment, extending rights to citizens, protecting consumers and even, haltingly, resolving the abortion issue. It has also pandered to our nastiest appetites when it senses that that is what we want. We are going to have to want something better if we hope to survive.

The War on Poverty must be refought. The dilemma of racism must be attacked. The struggles will be, in the first place, costly, and, in the second, painful. There is something in the human condition that seems to require pain before catharsis, and the heat of the crucible before steel can emerge. The pain, blood, sweat and struggle of birth becomes a metaphor for life.

It is natural and understandable that we should seek to avoid such pain, but the alternative is the decay that now accompanies our present comfort and that will, sooner or later, erase that comfort, too. There is a sure sense of national disquiet over our current drift.

Poverty and racism are the big agenda items. Ignoring their primary role in the crime equation, as we currently do, absolutely ensures a continuation of the rise in the appalling levels of urban violence we are experiencing.

It is totally absurd for us to take the position, as we have done now for the last decade or more, that the government can't do anything right, that the less we have of it the better, and that we cannot, and ought not, assign any significant task to it. Such a foolish view ignores the central reality of history, that people need instruments for regulating their daily lives and that this need has increased with the growing complexity and interdependence of modern societies.

•**Education:** In education, the chasm between rich and poor widens, with fateful consequences for the excluded and for the society that they will influence. Nowhere is the sense of a divided and selfish society more clearly, and dangerously, etched than in the issues surrounding how we educate our young. Politicians who choose to remind us of the injustices are severely punished.

National leaders can blather all day long about lifting America's educational standards and performances, but the hard question centers on government's willingness to equalize the underclass' resources. New Jersey tried to shift resources from its richer to its poorer schools, and the result was a legislative overturn in state elections, and a U.S. senator's nearly losing his job, and the mangling of the career of the governor who'd proposed this piece of social equity.

It will take more than money to turn out an educated citizen, but the current maldistribution of resources ensures the

underclass' failure.

As a consequence of the difficulties surrounding equalization factors, the debate has concentrated on the edges, such as lengthening the school year, adopting national tests to establish levels of achievement and decrying the effects of blasted families and too much television.

•**Job Corps:** We have accepted the myth that the War on Poverty was fought and lost and that we have to find another way out of this morass. We choose to ignore that war's successes and the need to tighten controls and accountability.

President Johnson began the War on Poverty in 1964. The effort was diminished by the demands of the Vietnam War and then by the 1968 election of President Nixon, but the definitive end of the struggle came with the election of President Reagan in 1980.

Today, there are about 5 million impoverished young men and women who are uneducated, unskilled, undisciplined, unsocialized and unincluded. They are frequently addicted to drugs or alcohol, commit crimes and become our future criminals.

One remnant of the War on Poverty is the Job Corps and its 106 campuses across the nation, which try to salvage the worst-off of the 16- to 22-year-olds. It served 62,000 per year in the early '90s.

The Job Corps is a mix of vocational training, boarding school and boot camp. Its record of performance has converted some of its severest critics, yet President Reagan tried to eliminate it altogether, twice.

The statistics are impressive: almost 73 percent of Jobs Corps members have never been previously employed. More than 50 percent are black and more than 40 percent come from welfare families. More than 83 percent were, in 1990-91, high school dropouts; the national total of dropouts was just over 12 percent. The program is clearly reaching the right candidates. This program takes the toughest losers and gives them structure, discipline, direction and hope. Those who demand specific answers to what to do about our lost youngsters can be confronted with Head Start and the Job Corps as examples of programs that work.

•**The NIMBY factor:** The reforms I've advocated here can't come about without a fundamental change in the American spirit. We will have to become better citizens if ours is to become a safer nation. Our generation's view of crime can be defined by the NIMBY (not-in-my-backyard) factor. Many who don't start out as NIMBY-ites have lapsed into this attitude out of frustration and fear.

Yet until the overclass of America can recognize its complicity in the lootings, pillagings, burnings and killings flowing from the ghetto, any hope of stemming their flow will be dashed. We are the enemy. Our obsession with pleasure and recreation, and our indifference to the plight of the black and the poor, are producing the crime and violence we so deplore. ◀



# VIOLENT CRIME

## Codependence

# W

ould legalizing drugs reduce crime? The answer is probably yes. No one can say with certainty what the full effects of legalization would be, but the available evidence suggests that Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders' call for a government study of the issue represents minimal common sense. The knee-jerk "no" response from the White House is a politicized, ostrich-like approach to a failed war on drugs.

It is important to recognize that the war hasn't worked. The declining use of marijuana, cocaine and some other drugs largely reflects middle-class cultural changes, not the results of the Reagan-Bush crack-down on narcotics. Social disapproval, changing fashion and recognition of health risks, more than prohibition and law enforcement, have changed patterns of drug use. Marijuana use, for example, declined over a period when enforcement of laws against

middle-class users was nearly suspended.

Meanwhile, as writer Elliott Currie argues in his recent book on drug policy, *Reckoning*, cocaine and heroin use among hard-core drug abusers in the inner cities has stabilized at a higher level than before the war on drugs. And those users were the primary target of the war, which in less than a decade has more than tripled the number of drug offenders in state prisons and doubled the number in federal prisons (to 54 percent of the total federal prison population and 20 percent of the state prisons).

The war has created more problems than it has solved: prison construction and operation costs have soared, courts have been overburdened, civil liberties have been increasingly abused (though the Supreme Court has curtailed property forfeiture in drug cases), and police have been corrupted by drug traffickers. Conditions created by drug prohibition are largely responsible for nearly one-

third of AIDS cases now resulting from intravenous drug use. Crime has not been reduced and in some cases has increased, arguably as fallout of drug war policies.

"Legalization" is often used by proponents and opponents of drug policy reform to cover a wide range of policies. Some argue for a free market in all drugs, regulated much like alcohol is today. Others would apply the alcohol model to marijuana—widely regarded as less harmful than either tobacco or alcohol—and would make other drugs available, if at all, following the model of prescription drugs. Other reformers, citing the fact that laws against possession or use of drugs now account for two-thirds of all state and local drug-abuse arrests, call for the removal or non-enforcement of such laws. These decriminalization advocates, however, would have large-scale trafficking still treated as criminal offenses.

Reformers argue that legalization or decriminalization would reduce crime in several ways. First, drug use would no longer be considered criminal. That would eliminate 1.1 million arrests at the state and local level and 22,000 arrests at the federal level each year. Critics argue that this is an example of what's now fashionably referred to as "defining deviancy down." But it is also realistic, since more than 20 million Americans each year violate the nation's drug laws. Obviously there will never be enough prisons to hold them all, and studies of the most serious drug abusers indicate that fear of prison is no deterrent at all.

But drug liberalization would also mean that currently overloaded courts and prosecutor offices could concentrate on more serious offenses. Violent offenders would not be hastily bumped out of prison cells to make way for drug offenders, as has happened in some states. The time police now spend on drug cases could be directed toward making people feel safer in their communities—through community

***Crime and drugs go hand-in-hand in the inner city. And current U.S. policy only makes things worse.***

By David Moberg





**A drug arrest in Brooklyn.** policing, for example—or working on the crimes of violence

and against property that most concern people.

It would also free large sums of money for other purposes—fighting serious crime, promoting education and treatment to reduce drug use, or providing jobs programs and social alternatives in the neighborhoods most ravaged by drug abuse. The Bush administration spent \$45 billion on the drug war over four years, more than double what Reagan spent in eight. Although President Clinton's budget represents a tiny shift from international interdiction to drug education, his 1994 budget for the drug war still grew by 7 percent from 1993 to \$13 billion. States spent an estimated \$18 billion a year on the war, not counting the \$20 billion spent each year on prison construction.

Legalizing drugs would largely end the current drug trade, which provides the profits for organized crime, violent gangs and other traffickers. Profiteers from the legal trade, which would most likely be prohibited from advertising or promoting its product, could at least be carefully regulated and taxed. Given the size of the current market in illegal drugs, estimated at \$50 to \$150 billion a year, even a very small sales tax would yield about \$5 billion annually.

The toll from drug-related crime is enormous. Anywhere from one-fourth to one-half of killings in major urban centers are drug-related, according to several different studies. Studies of abusers, as well as of people in drug-treatment programs, strongly indicate that heavy drug use leads to very large increases in property crimes, like burglary and robbery.

There are at least three ways that drugs may contribute

core drug abuse is overwhelmingly associated with social deprivation and poverty, especially the lack of opportunities for decently paid work.

For some inner-city residents, drug use and culture become alternatives to the workaday world from which they're either excluded or relegated to jobs that are unrewarding in every way. Drug use provides poor people with a way of gaining status in a community, a way of coping with a difficult existence, and a way of structuring their lives. At some point, drug abuse may be so prevalent that it is difficult to avoid, Currie argues. Drug use in poor communities is a social phenomenon, and the medical model—which defines addiction as a disease of the individual—is misleading and inappropriate.

The social conditions that lead to this kind of drug abuse also lead to crime—although drug use seems to diminish among those involved in more organized, businesslike criminal ventures. For example, a Rand Corporation study of the youthful inner-city drug culture in Washington, D.C., concluded that the dealers are much less likely to use drugs and are relatively talented youngsters compared to their heavy customers.

In any case, a pattern of criminal activity typically precedes serious drug use. This suggests that while drug abuse may intensify crime, it is not so clearly the cause, as the stereotype of the heroin-craving addict stealing for a fix suggests. Indeed, Currie contends, that most abusers are not driven to crime by physical necessity. Research suggests that there are many different, complex relationships between drugs and crime. To some extent, there has emerged a subculture of violence that embraces both hard drugs and crime.

"Simply providing drugs more easily to people enmeshed

to crime. Addicts and abusers need money for their expensive tastes, and commit crimes to get it. Violence erupts as part of the business—revenge over bad deals or bad debts, competition among dealers and the like. And, finally, drugs may alter someone's state of mind to make him or her more likely to commit crime.

Legalization might reduce both of the first two types of crime—but to what extent remains unclear. In *Reckoning*, Currie argues that 30 years of research have established that hard-

in the drug cultures of the cities is not likely to cut the deep social roots of addict crime," Currie writes, since because drug abuse and crime spring from those common social roots. This explains why working- and middle-class abusers tend to have different patterns of behavior from those of the working poor.

Currie opposes free-market legalization of drugs. Like other critics, he insists that drug use would increase dramatically with legalization. It is hard to prove either way. Some polls suggest few people who haven't done so are interested in trying cocaine, but it seems logical that that easier access will lead some people to indulge.

The experiences of other countries rarely reflect social conditions in the United States: the Dutch experiment with tolerant decriminalization of most drug use has not led to increased consumption, but the Netherlands does not have the social inequality and urban wastelands of the United States. And this country's own experience with alcohol prohibition provides a mixed message: alcohol consumption shot up sharply after repeal but never regained pre-Prohibition levels. The success of recent campaigns against tobacco suggests that education and treatment can work to reduce consumption of even a very addictive drug, like nicotine. But though tobacco use tends to be higher among the poor, it is not as rooted in social deprivation as is heroin or crack.

Yet despite his opposition to free-market legalization, Currie and many drug reformers agree on three points: the government should stop treating drug users as criminals or at least greatly reduce penalties; drug abusers should be assured of treatment; and the law should focus on big traffickers and on community safety.

Ultimately, the country must recognize two realities about drugs. First, for many people who most seriously abuse drugs and also are most involved in crime, both drugs and crime are fostered by inequality, social disorganization, abandonment of cities and a lack of job opportunities. The drug-crime culture also mirrors in its distorted way the values of the dominant consumer culture and provides a destructive response to bitterness over the ongoing legacy of racism.

Nothing less than a full-scale public effort to address these problems will ever have a chance of reducing drug

problems or crime. It may be true that there are many other causes of crime and that policies providing jobs and decent communities are insufficient remedies. But without this massive commitment to social reconstruction, no other remedy has a prayer of being effective.

Second, the United States needs to recognize that throughout history and virtually every culture, human beings have sought ways to alter their consciousness by eating, drinking, smoking or otherwise consuming various substances. Rarely does this use cause problems, mostly because there are social rituals and customs that define acceptable use. The United States must move toward creating a climate not of strict prohibition but of restrained, intelligent use of drugs—whether currently legal varieties (like coffee, tea, tobacco, and alcohol) or currently illegal (like marijuana). The government should, of course, discourage not only abuse but even recreational use of the most damaging drugs.

Proponents of legalization often recognize this reality of the role of mind-altering substances in human culture, without acknowledging the need for redressing poverty and inequality. Critics of legalization, on the other hand, often ignore the cultural role of drugs, though some of them recognize the need for action against social deprivation. But the drug warriors are oblivious to both realities, creating the worst of public policies. They consequently do not reduce but rather compound the vexing problems of drugs and crime. ◀

### Tired of the Heritage Foundation's point of view?

Become a charter subscriber to **COUNTERPUNCH**

A new Washington, D.C.-based newsletter sponsored by the **Institute for Policy Studies**

Coming in January

Edited by Ken Silverstein, a contributor to publications such as *In These Times* and *The Nation*, Counterpunch will provide behind-the-scenes reporting on what's really happening in Washington.

"Silverstein's own work has been outstanding, what he is doing is badly needed. I'm looking forward to it with much anticipation."

—Noam Chomsky

#### SUBSCRIBE NOW

- ☐ \$40 (1 year, 23 issues) ☐ \$100 (1 year, institution/sustainer)  
☐ \$100 (supporter) ☐ \$250 (sustainer)

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

Make check out to "IPS Newsletter Project." Send to:  
 Institute for Policy Studies, 1601 Connecticut Avenue NW,  
 Washington, D.C. 20009

All contributions tax deductible

## Invite David Moberg into your classroom.

Or Salim Muwakkil. Or Pat Aufderheide. Or John Judis. You've come to rely on their viewpoints on politics, foreign affairs and culture in *In These Times*. Now you can offer their analysis of world events to your students. If you are a professor of political science, communications, sociology, history or related subjects, your students can receive *In These Times* for a fraction of the usual rate.

For information call (312)772-0100, ext. 239.

## VIOLENT CRIME

# After the drug war

A

decade after Ronald Reagan declared a federal war on drugs, Americans finally are showing signs of battle fatigue. The war isn't being won: despite prohibitionist policies and get-tough law enforcement, drug-related violence and HIV infection rates continue to climb. Faced with these grim facts, even mainstream politicians are beginning to look seriously at the liberalization of drug laws.

*With  
Americans  
tiring of  
"just say no"  
rhetoric,  
the drug-  
liberalization  
movement is  
on the rise.*

In the midst of this sea change, the decades-old movement to reform national drug policy is expanding and coming of age, shedding its former Cheech-and-Chong image. The movement's latest approach—known as "harm reduction"—shifts the emphasis away from prohibition and incarceration. Instead, harm reduction stresses treatment and attempts to address the social ills—crime, addiction and the spread of AIDS—that often accompany the illicit market.

Harm reduction has its

roots overseas. In response to the breakout of AIDS in the mid-'80s and the realization that needles shared among addicts were driving HIV infection rates up, several European and Australian cities began implementing liberal drug policies. This approach has demonstrated success in reducing drug-related crime and disease, as well as drug-abuse deaths. About 20 European cities have signed the Frankfurt Resolution, which espouses harm reduction as rational drug policy.

In the United States, it is not only AIDS but an escalating crisis of violence that has caused police organizations, judges and others to seek a solution other than continued prosecution and incarceration for drug offenders. People of prominence and credibility—from the mayors of Baltimore, New Haven and San Francisco, to federal judges Whitman Knapp, Robert Sweet and Jack Weinstein, and even former Secretary of State

George Shultz—continue to speak out for drug-law reform.

Perhaps the most influential figure to take up the issue is Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, who broke from her administration's stance against legalization at a National Press Club luncheon in early December. "[W]e would markedly reduce our crime rate if we legalized drugs," she said. The White House responded quickly, asserting that legalization was such a bad idea that it wasn't even worth studying.

Still, Elders succeeded in bringing the media spotlight to the subject. Her remarks provoked the three major networks to devote a total of eight and a half minutes to the subject of drug-law reform in a single night—nearly matching the 10 minutes the subject had received in all of the previous 47 months, according to Andrew Tyndall, network analyst and publisher of the *Tyndall Report*.

Though it took Elders to get the subject on the nightly news, drug reform was the focus of a recent international conference in Baltimore and a national conference in Washington. The Baltimore event drew together experts from 20 countries. The participants—many of whom had devoted their careers to the reform of drug laws—formed an international alliance of cities that favor harm-reduction policies.

Reflecting on the peculiar American context, Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke called easy access to guns coupled with drug prohibition a "deadly combination," creating a thriving, violence-driven black market. Schmoke called this "the primary threat to the health and safety of American cities."

Arnold Trebach, American University professor and president of the seven-year-old Drug Policy Foundation (DPF), the leading U.S. drug-reform organization, estimates that in the past 10 years as many as 100,000 Americans have died from AIDS contracted at the point of a needle and from violence associated with the turf wars of the lucrative black-

By David U. Andrews



market drug trade.

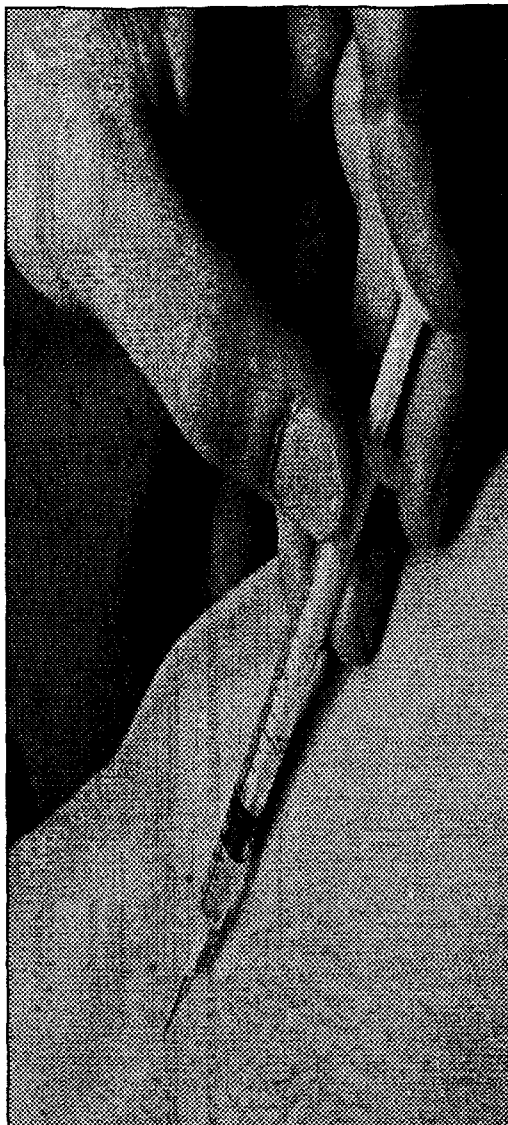
In Zurich, Frankfurt, Amsterdam and New Haven, Conn., to name a few examples, harm reduction has meant providing addicts with clean works, shelter and—in some instances—drugs. Drug-related deaths in Frankfurt have dropped by half. In contrast to Europe as a whole and the United States—where injecting drug users comprise 23 percent and 26 percent of AIDS cases, respectively—health officials in the Netherlands report that just 8 percent of their AIDS patients are intravenous drug users. Zurich saw a tenfold reduction in the portion of drug users who tested HIV-positive after implementing harm-reduction policies.

The General Accounting Office confirms that in New Haven, where two of three AIDS patients are intravenous drug users, a three-year-old comprehensive needle-exchange/community-policing program has slowed the spread of HIV infection by 33 percent. During this same period, violent crime has dropped by 40 percent, according to New Haven Police Chief Nicholas Pastore. Pastore attributes this reduction not just to the city's new emphasis on getting addicts into treatment instead of jail, but to a general abandonment of the "Ninja," or "mercenary," style of policing.

Although New Haven leads American cities in harm-reduction policy, it does not stand alone. More than three dozen U.S. cities sanction some form of needle-exchange program, according to a Centers for Disease Control report, which found these programs generally effective. And policy-makers in cities such as Baltimore, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Minneapolis and San Francisco are all considering the comprehensive approach.

But the European experience teaches at least one valuable lesson: that harm reduction cannot take place in a vacuum. "The most that a municipal drug policy can do is to reduce the suffering and the costs brought about by the ill-conceived policy of prohibition," observed Margaret Nimsch, Frankfurt municipal councillor. She and other harm-reduction advocates call for national—and international—harm-reduction programs.

Some of the converts to harm reduction range from former addicts to reconstructed drug warriors. Colombian



Attorney General Gustavo de Greiff Restrepo finally endorsed legalization after years of battling against the cocaine cartel. As long as traffickers can sell cocaine for 100 times the cost of producing it, he said, "you will always find—in a rich country as well as in a poor country—somebody willing to take the risk."

"The war as it has been fought is a lost battle, a failure, and it has to be changed," he said. "How? First, by fighting consumption along with fighting against trafficking. Maybe exploring the idea of an international system of justice. ... But in the end, I think that the only solution is legalization. Of course, not an absolute liberty; of course, with some regulations, as tobacco and liquor are regulated, but [legalization] is the only way to decrease the margin between cost of producing and the price of selling."

Though unheralded in the press, de Greiff's change of heart stunned drug-reform insiders at the Baltimore conference as much as Elders' comments later raised the interest of the general public.

Most harm-reduction proponents take pains to stress that they do not condone drug use. While rejecting the notion of a drug-free society as unattainable, a liberal drug policy nevertheless "recognizes as a top priority a drug-free life," according to Ueli

Loecher, drug policy coordinator for the city of Zurich.

A significant minority of drug reformers, however, argue that a drug-free society is not only unattainable but possibly undesirable. Dr. Lester Grinspoon, a Harvard Medical School iconoclast who has written extensively on the potential benefits and risks of all types of drug use, said, "Even if you could have a drug-free society, it would be throwing some babies out with the bathwater." There are "important utilities" to some drugs now seen as uniformly "bad substances," particularly marijuana, he added.

Such disagreements and differences in style within the drug-reform movement may be attributed to growing pains. It is, after all, a movement that for decades has been relegated to the remotest fringe of American political life and is now marked by a cautious optimism. Results of the harm-reduction programs worldwide give American reformers the weapon they have wanted for years: a positive foil for the failings of the drug war. ◀

David U. Andrews is a Manhattan-based freelance writer.

**CAPITOL HILL**

# Choosing sides

**A**fter a miserable start, Bill Clinton has enjoyed a string of successes with Congress—from the budget vote to the Brady gun-control bill. To Democratic leaders and administration officials, everything now seems possible—or at least passable—including the administration's proposal for national health insurance. By the time the 103rd Congress leaves office, it "will be entitled to the already much overused word 'historic,'" predicts Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-ME).

*On health reform, Clinton must decide whether to look to the left or to the right.*

By John B. Judis  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

But looks can be deceiving. In lobbying for his economic agenda, Clinton followed two very different approaches. One strategy was to accommodate the demands of centrist Democrats and even conservative Republicans. The president used this tactic to win votes on the budget and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The result was a budget and a treaty markedly different from what Clinton had promised during the campaign.

up with a much weaker plan.

Clinton's center-right strategy evolved out of his failure to pass his economic stimulus program last April. In the past, Democrats got public works bills through Congress by winning the support of moderate Republicans from Northern urban states, but Clinton foolishly decided not to involve these Republicans in the formulation of his stimulus plan. Instead, he relied on a partisan Democratic majority in both the Senate and the House to pass his \$16 billion package. The Democrats failed—unable to overcome a united Republican filibuster. Clinton also discovered that he could not count on support from moderate Southern Democrats, such as Sens. John Breaux (D-LA), Richard Shelby (D-AL) and Sam Nunn (D-GA).

To build a majority for his overall budget, Clinton might have turned to Republicans, such as Sens. Arlen Specter (R-PA), John Chafee (R-RI) and William Cohen (R-ME), but it was already too late. Instead, he was forced to seek the support of the same moderate Southern Democrats who had opposed the stimulus package. In August, he won narrow victories on the budget by tailoring it to meet their demands. He abandoned the broad-based energy tax and many of the public investments that the budget was supposed to fund.

Clinton's NAFTA strategy was even more explicitly based on a center-right coalition. In six months of discussions with the White House, House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO) made his support for NAFTA contingent upon Clinton producing a tough labor side agreement that discouraged American firms from moving to Mexico in search of lower wages and an unregulated workplace. Gephardt, a liberal Democrat, could have brought along 20 to 30 erstwhile NAFTA opponents, but instead of trying to satisfy Gephardt, the administration attempted to maintain Republican and business support for the treaty. "If you get Gephardt, you lose too many Republicans," one White House aide explained to me. In the end, Clinton's

In last month's vote over the draconian budget amendments proposed by Reps. Tim Penny (D-MN) and John Kasich (R-OH), however, Clinton successfully drew together a center-left coalition of liberal Democrats and moderate Republicans. He didn't pass any new initiatives, but he did prevent further reductions in public investment and the wreck of whatever remained of his original agenda.

As Clinton prepares for the bruising battle next year over national health insurance, he will have to choose between these two legislative strategies. If he chooses the center-left strategy, he could end up with a health bill that resembles what he is currently proposing—one that includes cost containment and universal coverage. But if Clinton adopts the center-right strategy that he used in the budget and NAFTA debates, he is likely to end

winning coalition consisted of 132 Republicans and only 102 Democrats.

If Clinton had focused on uniting liberal Democrats and moderate Republicans, he might have gotten a budget that increased rather than reduced government expenditure on infrastructure and education and a NAFTA that offered some protection to American workers from runaway shops. The results would have still offended some liberal constituencies and politicians, but they would have more closely reflected the progressive program Clinton initially championed.

Was such an approach politically viable? Clinton's success in defeating the Penny-Kasich amendment showed that it was. The amendment would have cut an additional \$90 billion from the administration's five-year budget plan and further lowered the spending limits on discretionary social spending. The House defeated the legislation by a 219-to-213 vote. It was opposed by one independent, 200 Democrats and 18 Northern Republicans. On the other hand, Southern Democrats supported Penny-Kasich by 28 to 56. The anti-Penny-Kasich coalition was the inverse of Clinton's pro-NAFTA coalition.

In the battle over health care, Clinton looks as though he will have to choose primarily between a center-left or a center-right alternative. The center-left alternative is his own health plan, which originated as a kind of compromise between single-payer and free-market versions of managed competition. Clinton's plan mandates universal insurance through employer payments. It seeks to control costs by setting up public health alliances—which would bargain with big insurance companies on behalf of consumers—and by establishing government limits on the price of premiums.

On the center-right will be another health care package, proposed by Rep. Jim Cooper (D-TN) and Breaux. Cooper's plan sets up a system of managed competition with health alliances that bargain for rates with insurance companies, but it omits any government cost controls and does not require that employers buy coverage for their employees. It would probably be more expensive than Clinton's plan without providing universal benefits. It has, however, significant support in Washington. It is backed by Southern Democrats and some moderate and conservative Republicans, as well as the health insurance and small business lobbies. The centrist Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) also supports the plan.

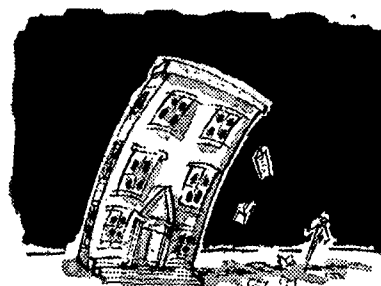
These are not the only two health plans before Congress. On the left is Minnesota Sen. Paul Wellstone's proposal for a Canadian-style government-administered program. But no matter what its merits, the Wellstone bill has no chance of winning a congressional majority because of the tax increases it would entail and the specter of big government it conjures up. Likewise, Texas GOP Sen. Phil Gramm's plan for forcing Americans to pay greater out-of-pocket costs has little appeal outside the right. And Chafee's plan for guaranteeing universal coverage is too vague to be debated. So that leaves the field to Clinton and Cooper/Breaux.

Clinton officials claim that, along with the proponents of a single-payer system, they already have about 190 votes in the House, but these figures appear inflated. Cooper can already claim 80 supporters in the House, including about 60 Democrats, along with Breaux, Nunn and other powerful Southern Democrats in the Senate. If a vote were taken tomorrow, the two plans would probably get equal support in both houses. Given this, Clinton has two choices: he can either bend his program to accommodate Cooper, Breaux and the DLC—creating a coalition of moderate Democrats and moderate and conservative Republicans—or he can seek the support of moderate Republicans like Chafee who remain nominally committed to universal coverage.

Either way, Clinton could lose. The center-right strategy could fail if the single-payer Democrats (about 80 in all) defect and make common cause with Gramm and other conservative Republicans. And the center-left strategy could fail if the moderate Republicans, concerned about the 1994 election, decide not to do anything to help Clinton and the Democrats. It wouldn't be the first time Congress reached a stalemate over the issue. In 1972, both President Nixon and Congress were mobilized to pass health insurance reform, but the proposals got caught up in partisan politics.

The outcome in either case would probably leave many legislators and citizens unhappy. Cooper's plan would simply hand American medicine over to large insurance conglomerates. Clinton's current plan would penalize small business and the self-employed and potentially create a two-tiered system of care. To win moderate Republican support, Clinton would also probably have to delay the plan's implementation past 1998 and reduce the power of the health alliances. But if last year's congressional battles are any indication, liberals, leftists, conservatives and right-wingers will eventually find themselves forced to choose between center-left and center-right alternatives.

## Which way does your library lean?



Take a look at your local library's periodicals section sometime. Does it offer a balanced perspective on the issues you care about? Or is most of its shelf space (and budget) given to mainstream and right-leaning newsmagazines?

Alternative news sources are invaluable

for any community, but they may be lacking in yours. You can change that. If you don't see *In These Times* in your library, ask your librarian to begin carrying us. Or, if your library has a limited budget, consider offering a gift subscription or matching funds.

For subscriptions, call 1-800-827-0270.

For information on gifts to libraries, call (312) 772-0100 ext. 239.



# I N T H E A R T S

## Pale face

**T**

he new western *Geronimo* has certainly got one thing right—it's gloriously filled with men on horseback in an epic landscape. That's the visual essence of the western, which went thataway about 20 years ago after serving for seven decades as America's premier cinematic looking-glass. Its illusions of manifest destiny shattered by revisionist historians and the new frontier of Vietnam, the western is about as vital now as Trigger, the stuffed horse in Roy Rogers' museum.

And yet every decade has its little promise of revival. As one who loves the western, lies and all, and finds it the most telling of American myths, I look forward to the coming boomlet, which was ignited by the success of *Dances with Wolves*, *Lonesome Dove* and *Unforgiven*.

So far this year the

results have been mixed. We've had Mario Van Peebles' prettified gangsta western, *Posse*, and *The Ballad of Little Jo*, an unvarnished feminist tale of gender infiltration on the range. (See *In These Times*, Sept. 6, 1993.) Hollywood is kicking in with the hopefully titled *Geronimo: An American Legend* and *Tombstone*, which the Disney folks have postponed past our press date.

On cable, Ted Turner has launched a massive multi-film project called *The Native Americans*, which dramatizes the lives of tribes all over the map, and of course includes some westerns. Coming next year are Mel Gibson's reincarnation of *Maverick* and more cowgirl tales, including the skirted edition of *Young Guns*, called *Bad Girls*, about five prostitutes.

Postponed until next spring is Gus Van Sant's version of Tom Robbins' indescribably postmodern novel *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues*. Headed for big box-office next summer is Kevin Costner as what appears to be, in the coming-attractions trailer, a classically heroic *Wyatt Earp*. If any of these movies

make money, there will be more moseying up the trail.

Can anyone retrieve for the western the popularity and urgency it once had? As America's prime myth of self-justification and the ultimate paean to manliness, westerns have seen their concerns drift into other genres about other times and places. The use of violence as a definition of masculinity (and by extension of America, whose might makes right) seems more plausible now on urban frontiers or in science fiction, where the Schwarzeneggers and the Stallones ride high.

Indeed, any movie that wants to gallop hellbent for leather has to pick its way very carefully, as *Geronimo* illustrates. The last major warrior to defy the reservation system, Geronimo has long been a symbol of Indian "savagery," but the Apache has also been treated sympathetically in a dozen movies dating back to the western's golden age.

Walter Hill's *Geronimo* thus breaks little new ground, though it gives somewhat more screentime to Geronimo's consciousness. (He's played by bristling Wes Studi, fresh from *Last of the Mohicans*.) The movie deals only with the U.S. government's last campaign against the Apache-

*Despite its multicultural mask, Geronimo is yet another film by and for white guys.*

By Pat Dowell



**Geronimo: An American Legend**  
Directed by Walter Hill

PHOTOS BY SAM EMERSON/COLUMBIA PICTURES



es, in 1885-6, and suggests something of Geronimo's past as a raider and fighter in flashbacks.

Vague visions of New-Age Indian spirituality temper the crackerjack action scenes, and the whole is narrated, in what can only be considered a "normalizing" device, by a green officer (Matt Damon), fresh out of West Point, who is impressed with the rugged men he meets on both sides of the fight. (Ted Turner's less stylish cable movie about Geronimo, by contrast, consists entirely of the Apaches' point of view—not that it saves the film.)

Jason Patric is meant to carry the white side of Walter Hill's *Geronimo*, but he's inert as the respectful lieutenant who coaxes the Apache to surrender—all the while suspecting that his superior officers won't keep their promises to reunite Geronimo eventually with his family in their homeland. (They didn't.) The suggestive final scene has Geronimo and his little band of surrendered fighters headed for Florida, riding in a boxcar that could have come right out of *Schindler's List*. (See *In These Times*, Dec. 13, 1993.)

Hill's *Geronimo* is part old western, part new one. Its Indians are major players, and the cavalry story emphasizes less the glories of nation-building than the slightly tragic situation of rough-hewn men carrying out orders to destroy warriors who are much like themselves.

But that's precisely where *Geronimo* becomes an old western, celebrating the natural bloody kinship of violent men. In between the exhilarating displays of horsemanship and the fabulous views of Utah's canyonlands, *Geronimo* gets bogged down in a series of macho gestures. This should not be too surprising, considering the, uh, thrust of director Walter Hill's career. Increasingly, he's specialized

in male-bonding epics such as *48 Hrs.* and *Extreme Prejudice*. Even his previous western—*The Long Riders*, released in 1980—had, as its organizing principle, the casting of actor brothers like the Quaid and Carradines as outlaw brothers.

Furthermore, the first version of *Geronimo*'s screenplay was penned by notorious chest-beater John Milius, before Hill cohort Larry Gross did a rewrite. It was fine-tuned by the director himself, who has been a fond student of the Apache era. All of these men seem to have clung to the heart of the western in their various versions of the story: it's a tale, above all, of arms and the man.

Geronimo is too "proud" to be a farmer. His "power" lies in the defeat of his enemies. And that's what the movie celebrates, finding the common ground between the white men and the red men in their rejection of civilization and its wimpish discontents.

Some think that the western can only return through the perspective of those left out of classic shoot-em-ups—women, blacks, Native Americans. And *Dances with Wolves* suggested that the multicultural western might indeed round up the big bucks and strike a responsive chord in the hearts of mall-rats and credit-strapped consumers.

But the Indian western may work today for entirely different and somewhat perverse reasons. Ironically, as a defiant dirge for a people threatened by immigrants, it echoes the anger of middle-class white males today who feel robbed of their birthright. And the appropriation of Native American motifs by the men's movement suggests that if the western returns, it will be to build a myth of legitimacy for white men, no matter how much war paint they wear. ◀

# I N P R I N T

## Pick of the litter:

*An informal listing of some of our favorite books of 1993*

### James Weinstein:

**D**avid Levering Lewis' *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race* (Henry Holt) is much more than a biography of one of 20th-century America's towering intellectuals. This magnificent book is also a compelling history of race relations, especially in the decades following the Great Compromise of 1877—when Reconstruction of the South ended and the progress of African-Americans toward full citizenship was reversed in an orgy of racist violence.

Lewis traces Du Bois' intellectual and political development from his early identification with New England's ruling class to his mature days as a class-conscious leader of his people in the '20s. As the emerging champion of equal rights for African-Americans in all spheres of civil society, Du Bois found himself locked in combat with accommodationist race leader Booker T. Washington. The founder of the Tuskegee Institute, Washington authored the 1895 Atlanta Compromise, a trade-off that accepted second-class citizenship for blacks in exchange for the hope of acquiescence in gradual economic progress by the white South's rulers. Much of this first volume of Lewis' monumental study is devoted to this conflict, which set the stage for Du Bois' later career.

Richard Reeves' *President Kennedy* (Simon and Schuster), a recounting of the two years and 10 months of Kennedy's presidency, should be required reading for those who want to know more about the man behind the myth. Reeves has not written a history of the period. And he unquestioningly accepts his subject's premises and principles. But his revelations are devastating, both on matters of personal character and public policy. An eye-opener for Kennedy fans, and a gold mine for his detractors.

### David Futrelle:

**O**ver the last year or so, I have read (and reviewed) scores of more-or-less political books, for *In These Times* and elsewhere; I think of myself as basically

a political writer. But when I set about assembling a list of the books that have really had an effect on me over the past year, no straightforwardly political books made the cut (whether that says more about me, or about the current state of political writing, I'm not sure). I found myself instead with an unruly collection of idiosyncratic works by authors who meet no particular standard of political correctness, personal books exploring the complexities of human emotions and desires.

Ellen Willis has been, for the past several decades, pushing the boundaries of feminism and pulling others along after her. Her latest book, appropriately titled *No More Nice Girls: Countercultural Essays* (Wesleyan/University Press of New England), collects together Willis' always provocative writings about feminism, sexuality and American culture. Most of the essays were written in the years of the '80s antifeminist backlash, but the book is in many ways laced with the spirit of the early '70s. Willis, a former *Village Voice* editor who came of age politically in the early, utopian years of what was then called Women's Liberation, writes to defend what was best in the ideas that emerged in these years, as well as to prod feminism beyond the inevitable simplifications of its early ideology.

Much of the book is devoted to acute critiques of the many and varied ways even the most "radical" of feminists have found themselves reproducing the most conventional of wisdoms. Willis is suspicious of those who are too eager to police a "politically correct" sexuality, convinced that sexual liberation requires coming to terms with the complexities of our unconscious feelings and desires. After all, she notes, "the purpose of women's liberation is to liberate women, not [to] defend our superior capacity for abstinence."

Charles Sprawson's *Haunts of the Black Masseur: The Swimmer as Hero* (Pantheon) is, in its own way, a small masterpiece of the British erotic imagination. (You weren't aware there was such a thing?) On one level, Sprawson's book is a colorful, and charmingly old-fashioned, anecdotal history of swimming from the Classical age to the present. But Sprawson, an English art dealer, has written a book that is as personal as it is historical, a chronicle as much of his own obsessive imagination as of its ostensible subject. The book is filled with eccentric individualists at once fascinated and ashamed by sensual pleasures and sexual desires. Sprawson is especially drawn to those who have made of swimming "an obsession, an urgent, compulsive indulgence," those who see in the primitive rituals of swimming an escape from the effete incertitude of the purely intellectual life—like the poet Paul Valéry, who described his plunges into the "wild and graceful beauty" of the deep as "a delight only comparable to love."

In *The Jaguar and the Anteater: Pornography Degree Zero* (Verso), Bernard Arcand attempts to make sense not only of the phenomenon of pornography, but of the anger, the evasions and the silences that surround the subject. At once sympathetic to and troubled by pornography, Arcand



(a Canadian anthropologist) writes of the subject with eloquence and sensitivity, avoiding the simple sloganeering that too often clouds the debate.

Along with the Trobriand islanders and the Bloomsbury Group, the New York intellectuals of the postwar years have been among the most intensely studied populations in history, the subject of a steady trickle of books—histories, memoirs, literary studies. *New York Times* book critic Anatole Broyard's posthumously published memoir, *Kafka Was the Rage* (Carol Southern Books) is a wonderfully engaging, even exhilarating, addition to the stack. The most compelling sections of the book relate Broyard's romance (if it can be called that) with a remarkable terror of a woman named Sherri Donatti—an embodiment of "all the new trends in art, sex and psychoses." Broyard writes of the cultural revolutionaries of the Village with detachment, viewing the central episodes of his life through the often astonished (and sometimes amused) eyes of the onlooker. The memoir is fragmentary, episodic and in a quite literal sense incomplete. (Broyard died before the memoir was finished, and the book ends abruptly, almost in midthought.) But Broyard writes with a spare, epigrammatic elegance and wit; the book is a continual delight.

On a more serious note: Kanan Makiya's *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising and the Arab World* (Norton) is a brilliant, impassioned, deeply personal—if often intemperate—polemic, an attempt to come to terms with the tragic fate of the post-Gulf War Iraqi *intifada*, as well as with the silence of most Arab intellectuals on the subject. Makiya's political conclusions are sometimes suspect (at the close of the war he called on the Americans to march into Baghdad to "finish the job") and his critiques of his ideological opponents (most notably Edward Said) are not always fair. But this is a book that is unsettling in the best sense, challenging us to reexamine the formulaic "anti-imperialist" rhetoric that prevented many Gulf War critics from fully acknowledging the horror of Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

## Miles Harvey:

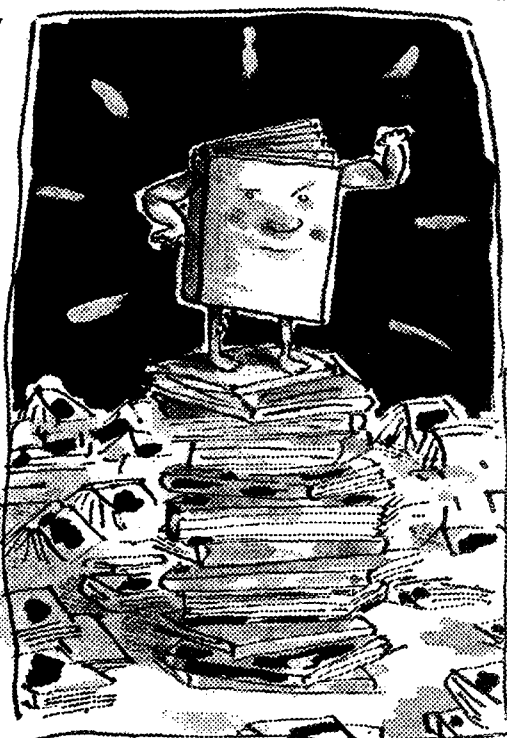
It's hard to look back on 1993 without thinking of exiles: Bosnians fleeing their ravaged home by train; Somalians huddled in refugee camps; Haitians floating in make-shift escape boats; Turks dying at the hands of neo-Nazis in Germany; Palestinians celebrating the Mideast peace pact by waving their flags in defiance of Israeli authorities.

In *The Satanic Verses*, Salman Rushdie writes that the condition of exile "is an endless paradox: looking forward by always looking back. The exile is a ball hurled high into the air. He hangs there, frozen in time, translated into a photograph; denied motion, suspended impossibly above his native earth, he awaits the inevitable moment at which the photograph must begin to move, and the earth reclaim its own." In 1993, Rushdie himself spent another year waiting for the earth to reclaim one of its own.

Some of the most compelling books I read in 1993 dealt with home and exile. The Kate Pullinger-edited anthology of short stories, *Border Lines* (Serpent's Tail), offers takes on the subject from writers across the globe. Pullinger has put together an inconsistent set; several of the stories seem to have been selected more because they fit the collection's theme than on their literary merits. But the anthology also offers some powerful pieces. Of special note are Australian-born Janette Turner Hospital's soaring meditation on the concept of home, "Litany for the Homeland"; Pakistani-born Aamer Hussein's "Karima," a study of a family lost in transition; and Indian-born Leena Dhingra's tale of tentative assimilation, "La Vie en Rose."

Given the fact that so many of the anthology's contributors are themselves exiles, it's not surprising the stories often explore what's lost by leaving home. But in his lyrical novel *Sweet & Sour Milk* (Graywolf Press), exiled Somali novelist Nuruddin Farah (see *In These Times*, Dec. 28, 1992) examines the dangers of returning to the place where you grew up. Set during Siad Barre's dictatorship, the novel tells the story of a man who returns to his home in an effort to get to the bottom of his twin brother's mysterious death. He discovers a place of "whys and no wherefores," in which almost all trust has been shattered.

Gifted American writer Charles Baxter also explores this home-as-hell theme in the novel *Shadow Play* (Norton). Protagonist Wyatt Palmer returns to his hometown of Five Oaks, Mich., to "get a job and pretend to be ordinary for a while." It's the "ordinary" of American life that Baxter loves



© 1993 PETER HANNAN

to pry open, revealing the tragedy and absurdity beneath. The new novel is less satisfying than some of Baxter's earlier work, most notably the short-story collections *Through the Safety Net* and *A Relative Stranger*. But it's nonetheless a worthwhile exploration of American domestic life.

Anthropologist Helen E. Fisher also takes up the subject of domesticity in *Anatomy of Love: The Natural History of Monogamy, Adultery and Divorce* (Norton). Fisher finds that the origin of our present-day concepts of home and property is closely tied to the subjugation of women. (See *In These Times*, May 31, 1993.) In hunter-gatherer societies, Fisher argues, women and men shared power. It was not until the invention of the plow—which both tied humans to plots of property and required more (male) strength to operate—that women began to be judged inferior.

As Beth Maschinot points out in *In These Times* (Aug. 9, 1993), Fisher sometimes stresses nature too strongly over nurture in making her conclusions about gender roles. She is nonetheless a skillful popularizer whose book comes at an important time in the American dialogue about sex and sexuality.

## Pat Aufderheide:

The ongoing disintegration of the international map made the following reading particularly interesting to me. Benedict Anderson's provocative 1983 *Imagined Communities* (Verso, revised in 1991) links developments in communications technologies and in nationalist ideology, and it elegantly reconstructs nationalism as a concept. Graceful and allusive, the writing invites you to explore thoughts along with Anderson. His 1991 appendix, "Census, Map, Museum," makes a nice companion to Denis Wood's *The Power of Maps* (Guilford), which in a more dogged style pursues a semiotics of geography. With close readings of topographic maps, a highway map, and maps of the world, Wood charts how power and interest are central to all cartography. (If you're in Washington, D.C. any time soon, catch the Smithsonian exhibit of the same name that he co-curated, and read in the visitors' book how North Carolinians feel about seeing their highway map dissected. "Pick on some other state" is one of the kinder comments.)

I found Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (Knopf) invigorating, if sometimes a bit interior in its arguments with an academic English lit canon. He argues with cogent examples that the cultural logic of imperialism pervaded European and particularly English culture, and that our understanding

of figures such as Jane Austen and Verdi is skewed if we don't factor in that shaping force. Kwame Anthony Appiah's *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (Oxford) is a testament to the role of the public intellectual. Born to a leading Ghanaian family, Appiah is the author of several books of philosophy and now a Harvard professor. He's also been a consistent voice of reason in the "political correctness" and Afrocentrism debates. Appiah's collection of essays charts the cultural construction of racism, its power to shape such guiding concepts for Americans as pluralism, and examines African literature and literary criticism as expressions of political-cultural dynamics. His writing on nationalism in Africa, postcolonialism and postmodernism, and his critique of the romanticizing rhetoric of "the Other" gives one faith in an intellectual community, even within an increasingly embattled geopolitics.

## David Moberg:

The full significance of the savings and loan crisis of the '80s never registered with the American public. It was poorly reported by the press, concealed by politicians of both parties, and remains murky and confusing to the average citizen. Journalist Kathleen Day's fascinating and valuable book, *S&L Hell: The People and the Politics Behind the \$1 Trillion Savings and Loan Scandal* (Norton), describes in compelling detail how an industry largely created, supported and regulated by the federal government for a worthy public purpose eventually came to control the regulators, legislators and administration—virtually the entire governmental apparatus regardless of party or ideology. Using that control the industry converted itself into a playground of private speculation and gain and then concealed its crimes and bad judgment, delayed the day of reckoning and ran up the astronomical bill that taxpayers will be paying for years to come.

In another of his marvelously concise, elegant and intelligent essays, economist Robert Heilbroner looks at the prospects for capitalism and socialism in *21st Century Capitalism* (Norton). At once a popular exposition of major ideas accessible to those who dread economics and a subtle and sophisticated argument, Heilbroner's little book argues that for the foreseeable future capitalism—or rather a range of nationally distinctive and more-or-less successful capitalisms—will rule the world. But these capitalisms will have to contend with the great range of economic, political, ecological and moral crises that have led both capitalist sympha-



slivers (from John Maynard Keynes to Joseph Schumpeter) and critics (such as Karl Marx) to a pessimistic view of its prospects. Heilbroner questions our centuries-old belief in the idea of progress—though he is not as pessimistic as historian Christopher Lasch on this point—and suggests that some variety of socialism may eventually emerge, less for economic reasons than because of its promise of a different society.

## Joel Bleifuss:

One of the most fascinating books of 1993 has also been among the most unheralded. Bob Parry's *Trick or Treason: The October Surprise Mystery* (Sheridan Square Press) is a journalistic whodunit that examines allegations that the 1980 Reagan Bush campaign cut a deal with representatives of the Ayatollah Khomeini, to keep the American hostages captive in Iran until after the presidential election, and thus help insure President Jimmy Carter's defeat. This important, and often entertaining, book puts on public record information about the most serious scandal of the Reagan and Bush years—information that official Washington establishment and its gatekeepers in the national press corps have decided not to probe.

Parry, the first in Washington to expose Oliver North's contra network, details the contradictions inherent in the official investigation by the House of Representatives October Surprise Task Force; he is particularly effective in outlining the contortions the task force went through in an attempt to contrive alibis for then-Reagan campaign manager William Casey. After the experience of the '80s, one shouldn't be surprised that the national security apparatus and its friends in Congress continue to cook the books: look at how Iraqgate has disappeared as an issue. It's frustrating that reporters and editors have so completely ignored this exposé by one of the finest investigative reporters around—and have thus allowed themselves to be a party to the deception. Parry deserves better; so do we.

## Pat Dowell:

Two of the best books I've read about the power of ideas in shaping American culture are just out in paperback: Richard Slotkin's *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Atheneum) and Jane Tompkins' *West of Everything: The Inner Life of Westerns* (Oxford). Slotkin's meticulous study of the metaphor of the frontier in American politics and culture features a book-length section on western movies. The ideological conflicts he examines can be seen at work everywhere you turn today in public debate. Tompkins turns a fresh eye on the sexual politics of the western movie and book, exploring such heretofore untouched topics as the significance of animals and the importance of physical punishment.

## George Hodak:

Peter Wollen's *Raiding the Icebox* (Indiana University Press), a collection of essays on 20th-century culture, presents a masterful rereading of modernism—from the surrealists to the abstract expressionists to the Situationist International. Wollen, a British film scholar and independent filmmaker, argues that alongside high modernism there developed elements of a hybrid counter-tradition, a modernism from below, that challenged the norms of Western culture. He carefully situates the movements he writes about in their political and economic contexts, emphasizing the cross-cultural resonances and influences that have shaped cultural production. In one particularly suggestive essay, Wollen explores pop art icon Andy Warhol's theatrical fusion of a minimalist aesthetic with the camp world of masquerade and caricature. Brushing aside the often fatuous conceits of postmodernism, Wollen looks beyond the increasingly provincial confines of the metropolis for new sources of artistic invention opened up by the dissolution of barriers between the First and Third Worlds.

In *The Power of Culture* (University of Chicago Press), edited by Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, nine leading American cultural historians explore a variety of topics, ranging from Victorian scandal to the corporate futurism of the 1964 World's Fair. The introduction provides a thoughtful overview of the ways in which new developments in literary theory, philosophy and anthropology have informed and enriched recent work in cultural history—as the essays in this book attest.

Tzvetan Todorov's *On Human Diversity* (Harvard University Press) is a compelling (and surprisingly accessible) study of nationalism, racism and exoticism in French thought. The Bulgarian-born Todorov, best known for his work in literary theory, has put together a book that combines intellectual history with moral and political philosophy, bringing to mind (and in some ways extending) Edward Said's seminal work on Orientalism and imperial culture. This book is a particularly welcome intervention, given the contemporary re-emergence of atavistic nationalisms and lurid xenophobia.

Also recommended: Two brilliant books of essays by historian Perry Anderson, *A Zone of Engagement* and *English Questions* (both Verso), and the late E.P. Thompson's magisterial collection of essays on 18th-century England, *Customs in Common* (Norton).

## Sigurd Ueland III:

Once in a while, my father will tell me about a time in New York City when people looked each other in the face. This old New York has returned, laid out in a map of prose, in a collection of the work of journalist Joseph Mitchell entitled *Up In the Old Hotel* (Vintage).





The stories, all originally published in *The New Yorker*, are reminiscent of tales spun of lost friends and forgotten places at a pub over four or five scotches. Some of the stories are true, some are fictitious; it's often hard to tell which is which. But it doesn't really matter. Mitchell's world of the notorious is alive within the pages of this darkly humorous, nostalgic book, filled with odd and vaguely disreputable characters ranging from Joe Gould ("Professor Seagull") to Old Mr. Flood the seafooditarian.

## John B. Judis:

I rarely read current books except when someone asks me to review them or when they are directly relevant to something I am writing. It's not by choice; I just don't have time. So I can't provide a representative list of the year's best books. But here is a selection of books that made more than an average impression on me over the last year or so:

Charles H. Ferguson and Charles R. Morris' *The Computer Wars* (Times Books) is perhaps the best book ever written about the computer industry; it could be profitably paired with the more eccentric and enjoyable *Accidental Empires* (Addison-Wesley), by *Infoworld* columnist Robert X. Cringely.

This fall, Washington's Economic Strategy Institute published a translation of Japanese Finance Ministry official Eisuke Sakakibara's *Beyond Capitalism: The Japanese Model of Market Economics* (University Press). Sakakibara's book is not an easy read, and parts of it are either difficult to follow or not terribly persuasive, but it is a candid argument by a Japanese official for an economy centered on the "social contract" between employer and employee rather than on the capitalist quest for higher profit. Sakakibara's book can be read with French businessman Michel Albert's *Capitalism vs. Capitalism* (Four Walls Eight Windows)—another brief against capitalist individualism. And, over the last year, I've cribbed repeatedly from *The Highest Stakes* (Oxford), an analysis of emerging economic and military rivalries from the Berkeley Roundtable on International Economics (BRIE).

I recently reviewed two books that I particularly liked: historian John Lukacs' *The End of the Twentieth Century and the End of the Modern Age* (Ticknor and Fields) and William F. Chafe's biography of Allard Lowenstein, *Never Stop Running* (Basic Books). Read Lukacs on contemporary Eastern Europe and one begins to worry that we are re-entering (blindly, in Warren Christopher's case) a period very similar to the early 20th century. Chafe's biography is model of research, challenging both the new left and new right view of the '60s.

## Now this:

In the spirit of non-denominational winter holiday good cheer, we'd like to pass along a few holiday gift suggestions from our comrades at the *American Spectator*. Among their pick hits: former Reagan aide Lynn Nofziger, noting that "I didn't read a damn thing worth reading in the last year," recommends Nofziger, a memoir by Lynn Nofziger, and the western novel *Tackett*, by "a fine author ... also named Lynn Nofziger." Former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander recommends *Six Months Off: An American Family's Australian Adventure*, by Lamar Alexander. ("I like to read it because it is about our family.") John Podhoretz suggests *Making It*, by Norman Podhoretz ("yes, he's my father"). Edward N. Luttwak recommends the anthology *Minor Latin Poets*; Edward J. Feulner Jr. and Dick Armey both suggest Friedrich Von Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*. Other suggestions: Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, Julie Nixon Eisenhower's *Pat Nixon: The Untold Story* and Tom Clancy's *The Hunt for Red October*. It's nice to know that our conservative colleagues are interested in so broadening their minds. Anyone looking for more fine gift suggestions, from writers as varied as Herbert Hoover III and Henry J. Hyde, is encouraged to peruse the *Spectator's* December 1993 Christmas Book issue. ◀

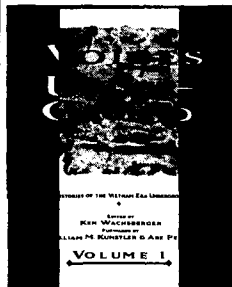
Mica Press is pleased to announce the release of *Voices from the Underground*—Volumes 1 & 2.

### Volume 1: *Insider Histories of the Vietnam Era*

*Underground Press* is a series of histories of underground newspapers from the Vietnam Era written by the editors, founders or other key people from the newspapers. Forewords to volume 1 are written by William M. Kunstler and Abe Peck.

### Volume 2: *Voices from the Underground: A Directory of Resources and Sources on the Vietnam Era*

*Underground Press* is the most in-depth research guide to the period that has ever been published. Articles include an annotated bibliography of books and articles on the Vietnam era underground press and a directory listing of underground publications that appear on microfilm.



Noam Chomsky (Linguistics, MIT):  
"Voices ... is a welcome contribution...."

Ben Bagdikian (Journalism, Berkeley):  
"Voices ... an invaluable tool...."

Fred Little (Columbia School of Journalism):  
"Voices documents the rise of feminist consciousness, and the emerging gay and lesbian cultures of the Sixties."

**VOICES FROM THE UNDERGROUND**, 8½ x 11, 644 pgs.  
\$29.00 each, \$58.00 for both (includes postage and handling).  
To order call 1-800-959-9357

# C L A S S I F I E D S

## ▶ HELP WANTED

**DIRECTOR—RACISM REDUCTION INSTITUTE**, a project of Clergy and Laity Concerned—multi-racial, multi-religious peace and justice organization. Responsible for admin., program development, and fundraising. Strong organizational skills and desire to reduce racism. Affirmative Action Employer. Contact CALC 222 S. Michigan, #500, Chicago 60604 or call (312) 427-4830. Due Nov. 30.

**EDITOR WANTED** by Toward Freedom Newsletter, a progressive, international affairs newsletter published eight times a year in Burlington, Vt. Strong journalism skills, with a global perspective essential. Part-time position, salary negotiable. Send letter and résumé to: TF, 209 College St., Burlington, VT 05401.

**OFFICE OF CORPORATE AFFAIRS:** Activist Researcher/Organizers wanted for vital, aggressive trade union campaign work. We advance workers' interests in the corporate world. Full-time, Washington, DC-based. Send résumé and writing sample. ACTWU 1800 Swann St., NW Washington, DC 20008, 202-745-1710.

**ORGANIZER/REPRESENTATIVE** wanted for New York-area labor union. Applicants must be bilingual in Spanish and English and live in New York City area. Labor or community organizing background important.

Send résumé and references to: **UNION JOB**, IN THESE TIMES, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

**COMMUNITY JOBS:** The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job listings (in Environment, Arts, International, Health, Youth, Civil Rights, Housing, Human Services, etc.). Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of non-profit organizations and the people who found them. Contact: ACCESS, 50 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 720-5627.

## ▶ BOOKS

**"BOY INTO MAN: A Fathers' Guide to Initiation of Teenage Sons,"** by Bernard Weiner. With script, photos,

ceremonial rituals. \$9.95, \$2 tax/shipping. Transformation Press, 197 Bonview, Box T, San Francisco, CA 94110.

**ANARCHIST COOKBOOK** Available again! \$25 ppd. Barricade Books, Box 1401J, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

**CAXTON BOOKSEARCH.** Box 220, Ellison Bay, WI 54210. We'll order or search any book, (800) 288-7724.

## ▶ PUBLICATIONS

**THE CATALOG OF ALTERNATIVES.** A catalog with a conscience. Videos, books and words to live by. Wishful Thinking? Video, P.O. Box 296, Florham Park, NJ 07932.

**LOVE TRAVELING?** Become an independent Travel Consultant. Excellent profits from home. Insider's guide

reveals how. Rush \$16.00 to: Zen Tours, Dept-T4, Box 38805, Colorado Springs, CO 80937.

**THE OLD FART:** A magazine for and by curmudgeons. Send \$10 cheque for a one-year subscription to this quarterly publication to: Box 83509, 199 Avenue Rd. Toronto, Canada M5R 3S2 (Tel/FAX 416-975-2614) or send \$20, one for yourself and one for your favorite curmudgeon.

**PRIVACY JOURNAL**—monthly newsletter on privacy in a computer age. Sample: P.O. Box 28577, Providence, RI 02908; (401) 274-7861.

## ▶ HEALTH

**ABORTING OURSELVES SAFELY!** Sources of information on Menstrual Extraction, herbal and vitamin abortions, etc. \$5/SASE: Autonomy, Box 591, Chilmark, MA 02535.

**AMAZON MEDICINE/VISIONARY PLANTS,** Literature/Art/Elixirs. \$1/info. ROSETTA, P.O. Box 4611 Dept. IT, Berkeley, CA 94704-0611.

## ▶ ASSOCIATIONS

**SCIENTIFIC UNIONISTS FOR TOTAL SOCIALISM.** Write DDEC, P.O. Box 3744-T, Grand Rapids, MI 49501-3744.

## AUTHORS WANTED

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and religious works, etc. Send for booklet Z-89. New authors welcomed. Vantage Press, 516 W 34 St., New York, NY 10001.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

The PATRIOTIC MAJORITY and NEW PATRIOT have dissolved, and no further issues of the newspaper will be published. The publishers of the NEW PATRIOT encourage its readers to subscribe to IN THESE TIMES.

## JEWISH CURRENTS December, 1993 issue

"U.S. Jews Back the Peace Process," editorial; "Peace through Reconciliation," Jerome M. Segal; "My Seven Days in Dachau," Isak Arbus; "Remembering Muriel Rukeyser," Aaron Kramer; "Race Does Matter," Joel Shatzky.

Single issue: \$2 plus 75¢.  
Subscription: \$20 yearly (USA).

**JEWISH CURRENTS**  
Dept. T, Suite 601  
22 E. 17 St., New York, NY 10003

## Political and Social Satire!

Music for the  
Mentally Restless...

**Blomberg &  
Mahaffey**

Great Entertainment for  
Occasions Left of Center  
414-962-5089



## HISTORIC REPRINT of the 1936 Masterpiece.... CHRISTIANITY'S SOCIAL RECORD

by Joseph McCabe, World-Famous Historical Scholar

A concise, provocative, fact-filled account showing how the Christian Church retarded human progress and reeked with vice and corruption from early times through the Reformation period; and that an indictment of ecclesiastical abuses was finally brought about by Deists, Skeptics and Atheists.

Paper \$4.00 ppd. (USA)

**INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS**  
P.O. Box 102  
Ridgefield, N.J. 07657

**SMASH POVERTY!** American Party, P. O. Box 14011, North Palm Beach, FL 33408.

► **FOR RENT**

**SANCTUARY FOR RENT.** Pennsylvania farmhouse on 100 acres for writers or thinkers, \$400 week / \$1000 month. (215) 233-3981.

**CHICAGO-SMALL OFFICE SPACE** available for business or personal use. \$150/month includes utilities. Use of office equipment negotiable. Call Jim Weinstein at (312) 772-0100.

**SUN, SAND AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE!**

Spend New Year's in CUBA with the **FREEDOM TO TRAVEL CAMPAIGN**, December 27 to January 3, and be part of the historic movement to lift the US travel ban against CUBA!

Call 415/558-9490, or write:  
PO Box 401116  
San Francisco, CA 94140

► **TRAVEL**

**JOIN US TO COSTA RICA** in April to explore rain forests and learn how a country operates without an army or navy, or come with us to Cuba in March to help in normalizing relations with the United States. Contact Promoting Enduring Peace, Box 5103, Woodmont, CT 06460. (203) 878-4769.

► **PERSONALS**

**MEET OTHER OPEN MINDED SINGLES** involved in personal growth, Spirituality, metaphysics, healing, Love, etc. All ages, nationwide, international. Information FREE. Male or female member description list \$5.00,

Can you read some **Spanish?**

Learn MORE reading the news in **Perspectiva magazine**  
JUST \$18 FOR 12 ISSUES, \$32 FOR 24 ISSUES  
(CANADA/MEXICO: \$25 OTHERS: \$35 U.S.)  
Bilingual glossary in every issue. All articles in intermediate Spanish. Monthly features: world/national news, science, ecology, culture, travel & more! FREE for new subscribers: **Spanish Grammar at a Glance**. Sample: \$2 prepaid.

**EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE**  
Box 177(ITT), So. Hadley, MA 01075  
PHONE ORDERS: (413) 538-7127  
FAX (413) 534-1712

both \$7.00. Consciousness Connection, 2001 E. Lohman, Suite 110-313TT, Las Cruces, NM 88001.

**CONCERNED SINGLES** Newsletter links singles concerned about environment, peace, social justice, gender equality, personal growth. Nationwide. All ages. Free sample: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

**ARTISTIC CONNECTIONS**—Linking single lovers of the arts. Nationwide. Write IT, Box 116, Chatham, NJ 07928.

**PAPER FANTASIES MAGAZINE** where imaginations meet. Find friends who share your creative interests., SASE: PF-7, Box 269, Loughman, FL 33858-0269.

**PRIVACY JOURNAL**—monthly newsletter on privacy in a computer age. Sample: P.O. Box 28577, Providence, RI 02908; (401) 274-7861.

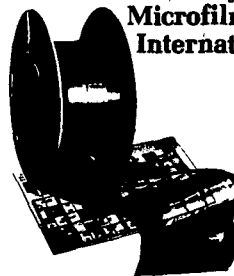
**SINGLE? INTO OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES?** Join us! Nationwide. Information: Natural Connections, Box 655-IT, Pomona, NY 10970.

► **MISCELLANEOUS**

**ALL ABOUT THE SCIENCE OF DOWSING**—Instructional Books, Videotape Workshop, Dowsing Instruments. Write **LIFE UNDERSTANDING FOUNDATION**, PO Box 30305-B, Santa Barbara, CA 93130. Phone (805) 682-5151.

**CAR PROBLEMS?** Stop being ripped off. Major/minor repairs? Buying? Need 2nd opinion? Exp. mechanic wants to help. (914) 855-3993. After 6 EST.

This publication is available in microform from **University Microfilms International.**

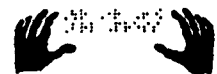


☐ Please send information about these titles:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Company/Institution \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-781-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

**Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc.**



For blind and print-handicapped persons, **FI - FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL**, a quarterly review of minority and independent publications, includes selected articles from **IN THESE TIMES**. Produced by Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription costs \$5.

**Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.**  
640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217  
(313) 842-1804

**NOAM CHOMSKY ON VIDEO**

Two hour videos: lectures, Q&A. Titles include: *Totalitarian Values; Worst Slaughter; Free Trade; w/Ed Herman; New Interview; Pentagon System; Creeping Fascism*; many more. Two-hour video \$20.00. Transcripts \$6.00.

60-min. audios: *Worst Slaughter; or New Interview*, \$6.00 each.

Check or money order to:  
**TURNING THE TIDE**,  
76 1/2 Lincoln Ave.,  
St. Albans, VT 05478,  
PH: 802-524-0478

Free Catalog available includes Bookchin, Parenti, Zinn, many others.

**IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force.**

**Word Rates:**

95¢ per word / 1-2 issues  
85¢ per word / 3-5 issues  
80¢ per word / 6-9 issues  
75¢ per word / 10-19 issues  
65¢ per word / 20+ issues

**Display Inch Rates:**

\$30 per inch / 1-2 issues  
\$28 per inch / 3-5 issues  
\$26 per inch / 6-9 issues  
\$24 per inch / 10-19 issues  
\$22 per inch / 20+ issues

Classified ads must be prepaid. Send your copy, coupon, and payment to:  
**IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads,**  
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

Enclosed is my check for \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading \_\_\_\_\_

Advertiser \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**Become an InTHESETIMES Sustainer**

Our sustainers actively support *In These Times* by donating on a monthly or quarterly basis. Plus, all new sustainers receive two free six-month gift subscriptions! Sustainers who pledge a minimum of \$10 per month or \$25 per quarter also receive their *In These Times* subscription free of charge. For information contact:

**Theresa Nutall, ITT**  
2040 N. Milwaukee  
Chicago, IL 60647  
312-772-0100



*Continued from page 40*  
*wanted it or not; photo.*

◦Bob Greene says the American Association of University Women has overreacted to a new talking Barbie doll, manufactured by Mattel, that utters the phrase "Math class is tough," among others, and says Barbie is uttering a universal truth known by girls and boys around the world: *Math class is tough.*

◦Like his readers, Greene doesn't have a life. Or a clue. He just seems to wander cheerfully through the world, marveling at the absolutely unmarvelous, gawking at the obvious. He speaks in the majestic primal tones of the American stupid, and his collected twaddling will no doubt someday be used by historians to illustrate the utter breakdown of the American life of the mind.

◦Bob Greene begins a series of columns listing good things about America that his readers have found. (Part of a series); photo.

◦Bob Greene offers 74 more examples of some good things about life in America, sent in by readers after an angry reader complained that he could not think of one good thing about the United States. (Part of a series); photo.

◦Bob Greene says that so many people in the United States are stressed out, violent and bitter because they feel they are always being crowded, but he says that while surveying the United States from an airplane window he noticed that vast amounts of land are unused and tranquil; photo.

Greene is for the passive, for the world's victims. And since American civilization is *about* making people passive, Greene's blather represents the dynamic vision of history and purpose that lies at the heart of American civilization: he is our Goethe, our Dante, our Milton. Above all the wars for oil and the arms for dictators and the nine-to-five Muzak office work and the lives defined by brand labels floats the golden Maker of Platitudes, the cooing cheer-upper, the master of the mall, endlessly bleating the wisdom of the refrigerator magnet and justifying the ways of God to man. The way things are, the way they have been built for us by corporate America, is what is natural and good. You are a *consumer*, a passive receptor of whatever they choose to pour into your head this year, and a consumer you shall always remain. Do not question! And start feeling good about it!

◦Bob Greene comments on savage assessment of his skills by angry twentysomething in In These Times; ponders why some people are always so unhappy.

◦Bob Greene says angry twentysomethings are afflicting U.S. society; seem much less cheerful than their parents, must not want to get along with others.

◦Bob Greene wonders why young people who seem so smart are always so bitter; suggests they visit the Mall of America in Bloomington, Minn., and discover the good things about life in America. ◀

Owen Hatteras is a columnist for Chicago's Grey City Journal, where this piece originally appeared.

## EVERY TIME YOU USE AN *In THESE TIMES* MASTERCARD CARD, ITT RECEIVES 15¢

Put your credit card to work for *In THESE TIMES* at no additional cost to you. The magazine receives \$1.50 when you sign up and 15¢ for every charge you make, no matter what the amount of the charge. So put your credit card to good use. Sign up today.

Enjoy the advantages of the *In THESE TIMES* Gold MasterCard without risk... it is issued absolutely free of an annual fee for one full year.<sup>1</sup> Other features include a line of credit up to \$50,000, immediate cash availability and Premium Buyer's Protection.

Extensive travel benefits and services provided at no extra cost, include\*:

- Up to \$1,000,000 Common Carrier Travel Accident Insurance
- Supplemental Auto Rental Collision/Loss Damage Insurance
- Up to \$3,000 Supplemental Lost Luggage Protection
- Emergency Cash & Airline Tickets

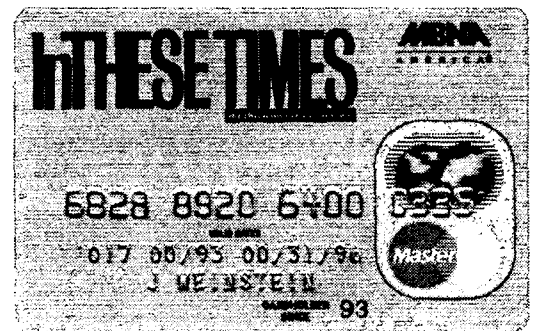
**MBNA America® is one of the world's leading issuers of credit cards.**

Committed to servicing our members' needs, MBNA America® offers cardholders 24-hour-year-round Customer Satisfaction, one hour processing for credit line increase requests, a lost card registration service and an emergency replacement card service.

<sup>1</sup>19.99 Annual Percentage Rate. \$40 Annual Fee for the Gold MasterCard and \$20 for the Silver MasterCard waived the first year. Transaction Fee For Bank and ATM Cash Advances: 2% of each Cash Advance (\$2 Minimum, \$25 Maximum); Transaction Fee For Premium Access Checks® and Preferred Access Checks® Cash Advances: 1% of each Cash Advance (\$2 Minimum, \$10 Maximum). Late Payment Fee: \$15. Over-The-Credit-Limit-Fee: \$15.

\*Certain restrictions apply to these benefits. The summary of credit card benefits accompanying the credit card Premium Access Checks® and Preferred Access Checks® describes coverage terms, conditions and limitations.

MBNA America® and Premium Access Checks® are federally registered Service Marks of MBNA America Bank, N.A. The account is issued and administered by MBNA America Bank, N.A. MasterCard® is a federally registered Service Mark of MasterCard International, Inc., used pursuant to license. The information about the cost of the card described above is accurate as of 2/93, to find out what may have changed call 1-800-847-7378 ext. 5000. © 1993 MBNA America Bank, N.A.



### CALL NOW TO APPLY!

24 hours a day, 7 days a week

**1-800-847-7378 ext. 5000**

Be sure to use this priority code when calling: KZPU.

# N T H E E N D

## The Greene-ing of America

By Owen Hatteras

Your job may be (probably is) an endless brain-numbing routine of filing and typing and smarming on the telephone, with the part of your life that remains your own reduced to an unpleasant commute, a frozen dinner, some dull TV, a weekend at the mall. Your friends may be impoverished or ill or on the brink of despair; the aspirations of your youth may long since have been abandoned; and the place where you grew up has probably been demolished to make way for corporate necessity. But as long as you remain convinced that these things have nothing to do with anything outside yourself like, say, an economic order, then you can be told that the solution to the world's ills is a bright outlook, a sunny disposition, a pleasant smile and a "Have a Nice Day." You will live by the platitude, and die by it. And you will read Bob Greene.

Bob Greene is one of the nation's most popular syndicated columnists, writing out of the *Chicago Tribune*. Although Bob's been around for years, his benign subject matter and curiously hapless prose style have become peculiarly appropriate in this era of the toothless press. Wars and presidents will come and go, industries and nations and entire ethnicities will vanish, stock markets will crash, but Bob Greene will never find much to criticize. And, his employers undoubtedly hope, one day his readers won't either.

So that you can look forward to that day, we reprint here a selection of the brief summaries of Bob Greene's column as they appeared in

the *Tribune Index* over the last several years:

•Bob Greene discusses a new series of full-color, high-quality trading cards that feature tools on the front; photo.

•Bob Greene comments on how he came upon a phone service coupon in his bag of potato chips and how it made him think about how the concept of long distance is diminishing in a day where technology makes distance surmountable; photo.

•Bob Greene comments on the sprawling Mall of America in Bloomington, Minn.

•Bob Greene reminisces about his train ride on the Empire Builder to Minnesota to see the Mall of America; photo.

Don't be confused by a few hard-bitten, leftover journalistic anomalies like Murray Kempton or Mike Royko. The suburbanization of the American mind is what newspapers do, circa 1993, and Bob Greene is the nation's ablest practitioner of the new role. Greene is the great craftsman of the fatuous, the architect of blithe unknowing. He cheers you up; he keeps your gaze forever distracted from anything that might actually affect the world in which you live.

•Bob Greene notes that hotels are serving cookies and milk to guests at bedtime, a trend he contends will probably not vanish as others have; photo.

•Bob Greene looks at Britain's royal family and the difficulty they must have had being given the "royal" job whether they  
Continued on page 39

